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ABSTRACT

A longitudinal study of teacher education in three New Zealand Colleges of Education (Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch) was conducted between the years 1989-1992 to examine: (1) the process of teacher education as it unfolded over time for those involved in it; (2) the experiences of a cohort of students preparing to become primary school teachers; and (3) the professional socialization of teacher trainees. This final report of the project begins with an overview of the reactions of 100 beginning teachers to their experience in the classroom during their first year. It then shifts back in time to describe and discuss some of the findings related to the experiences of these beginning teachers and others in their cohort while they were students--their experiences of college courses which contributed to their current experiences as beginning teachers. The report brings together issues discussed with students and beginning teachers over the course of the four years, and sets the findings in a broader context. Informants' views raised questions about future policy, practice, and organization for teacher education in New Zealand. The document concludes with 4 student profiles. Contains approximately 150 references. (LL)

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WINDOWS ON TEACHER EDUCATION

Student Progress Through Colleges of Education and the First Year in the Classroom

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THE FINAL REPORT

Margery Renwick
June Vize

NZCER

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FINAL REPORT

Margery Renwick
June Vize

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Wellington
1993

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
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Wellington
New Zealand

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PROJECT ADVISORY COMMITTEE: 1989/93

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Ministry of Education	Diane Mara
	Ken Rae
	Bill Richardson
	Neil Scotts
	Ross Tasker
	Hans Wagemaker
Education Review Office	Paul Vincent
NZEI	Sandra Aikin
Auckland College of Education	Garry Arnott
	Marie Cameron
	Joce Jesson
Wellington College of Education	Barry Doyle
	Chris Griffin
	Joanna Higgins
	Keri Kaa
	Kathryn Jenkins
Christchurch College of Education	Rex Johnstone
	Roger Murdoch
	Dennis Rose
NZCER	Cedric Croft (Chairperson)

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Editorial assistance has been given by Anne Else, Anna Rogers, and Fay Swann.

INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth and final report of a longitudinal study examining 'the process of teacher education as it unfolds over time for those involved in it'.[1] It discusses the experience of a cohort of students preparing to become primary school teachers at three New Zealand colleges of education: Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. The report starts with an overview of the reactions of 100 beginning teachers to their experience in the classroom during their first year. It then shifts back in time to describe and discuss some of the findings related to the experiences of these beginning teachers and others in their cohort while they were students - their experiences of college courses which contributed to where they are now as beginning teachers.

The study was conducted under contract to the Ministry of Education. It began in 1989, and reports were published in 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993. These four reports presented and discussed data collected from students during each year of their training and their first year in the classroom. This final report brings together issues discussed with students and beginning teachers over the course of the four years, and sets the findings in a broader context. In writing it, we have drawn on material presented in the first four reports. Where we have commented on changes that have taken place in the colleges since our study began, we have also included material first presented in another document which was a by-product of the research study: Renwick, M. (1993) *Innovation in Teacher Education*.

Though it is obviously important to present a final report, there is a sense in which this 'end product' is less important than the process of carrying out the research and the use made of findings as the study progressed. For example, in the second year the researchers were invited to Wellington College of Education to present findings to date to the total staff, at the opening session of a review of primary programmes. The findings helped to set the scene and provide a focus for a three-day workshop. In Auckland, lecturers had been aware of criticism from graduate students about the quality and relevance of their two-year programme. Findings from our research fed back to the staff, following our group interviews with graduate students, helped with a reconstruction of the graduate training programme.

---

[1] Tisher, R.P. (1987) *A Decade of Research on Teacher Education in Australia* (p. 29).

The study cannot be regarded as a comprehensive study of teacher education in New Zealand. There are six major providers of teacher education; the research reported on here was carried out in three only. Increased autonomy has meant that the colleges, which have never been replicas of each other, are developing even more marked individual characteristics than in the past - influenced by, for example, size, geographic locality, and proximity to other institutions (particularly universities and polytechnics), as well as by the collective and personal philosophies of staff.

Moreover, although students' perceptions of their courses of training form a legitimate focus for research, on their own they cannot provide a complete or holistic account of teacher education. There are other wider contexts within which students' views need to be placed.

We consider this to be an important study. However, it would have been even more valuable had other parallel studies on teacher education, looked at from different perspectives, been going on at the same time. When we began the study we hoped to interview lecturers as well as students, and to include some observations of students and programmes. This did not prove possible. It would also have been helpful if the perceptions of beginning teachers could have been complemented by comments of principals and parents as well as classroom observations. In each year of the study we described the view through one window at one point of time. It would obviously have been more complete if the views through other windows could also have been systematically recorded.

Despite these comments, we believe that the views expressed by students raise questions about policy, practice, and organisation for which colleges of education must always be seeking effective answers. It is in the context of the process of ongoing evaluation that we believe findings from the study have a contribution to make.

Setting the Scene

The aims of the study were:

1. To record the progress of a sample of students through their training and out into the classroom. We consider this aim to have been largely achieved through the publication of the first four reports.
2. To establish those factors which contribute to variations in student progress through their course of training.
3. To isolate 'key events' in students' experience which influence their later progress as students and teachers.

The research questions to be considered in the final phase were:

(1) How have student perceptions of the quality and appropriateness of their training changed during the course of the study?

(2) To what extent have minority groups of students, for example, mature students, male students, had different experiences of the course?

(3) How congruent are student beliefs and skills with current developments in primary education, for example, the new curriculum initiatives?

(4) What conclusions can be drawn for future policy and practice for teacher education in New Zealand, looking in particular at the implications for issues such as:

- the interaction of college programmes and teaching practice,
- length of training,
- flexibility of course delivery to students,
- student standards and assessment,
- recognition of prior learning, and
- lecturer appraisal?

Theoretical Assumptions

Two theoretical assumptions underpinned our research approach. The first was that the process of teacher education is embedded in more general issues of learning and teaching in schools, which in turn are affected by social forces outside the schools. Any study of teacher education must therefore be set in a framework which 'integrates the aspects of context, input, process and product'.[2]

Secondly, we recognised that the experiences students brought to the college were key influences on their later development as students and teachers. Our starting point, therefore, was the students at the point at which they were accepted for teacher training at the end of 1988. We were interested in their views of themselves at that time in relation to their future teaching role. We assumed that the views students held on entry to college about the roles they expected to play as teachers constituted their sense of reality - of the way the world of the teacher ought to be. The research was a study in the professional socialisation of teacher trainees. We saw this as a process of interaction taking place over three to four years. These interactions through time are represented diagrammatically in Figure 1.

---

[2] *Report of the National Inquiry into Teacher Education* (1980), (p. 215). Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.

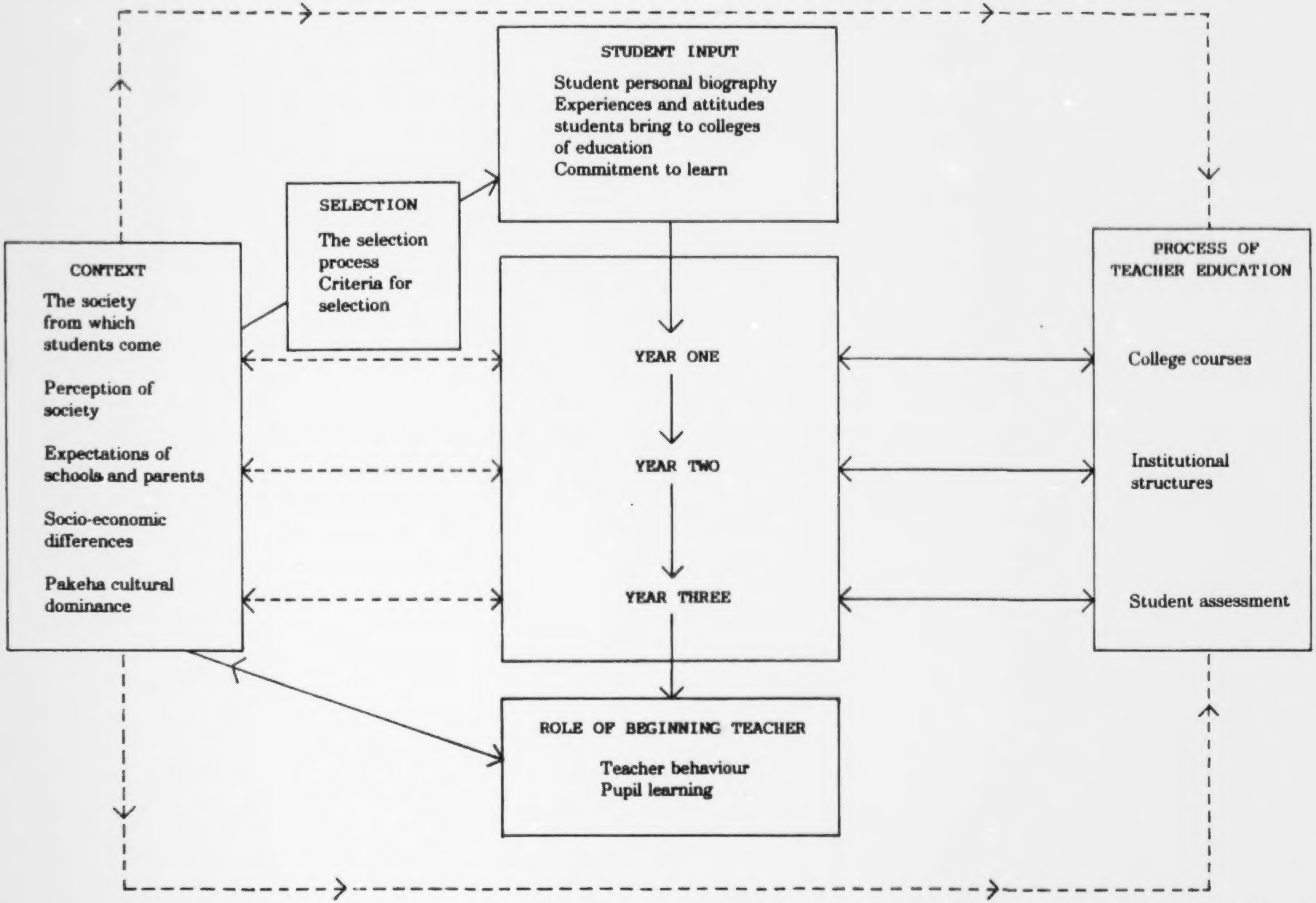

STUDENT INPUT
Student personal biography
Experiences and attitudes students bring to colleges of education
Commitment to learn
SELECTION
The selection process
Criteria for selection
CONTEXT
The society from which students come
Perception of society
Expectations of schools and parents
Socio-economic differences
Pakeha cultural dominance
YEAR ONE
YEAR TWO
YEAR THREE
PROCESS OF TEACHER EDUCATION
College courses
Institutional structures
Student assessment
ROLE OF BEGINNING TEACHER
Teacher behaviour
Pupil learning

Figure 1

Context of Research into Teacher Education

Research Literature

We have not presented a review of the literature of teacher education. Firstly, there is very little substantive research on primary teacher education in New Zealand. Previous research studies in this country have for the most part been retrospective studies of groups of students from the college where the investigation has taken place. We were not able to discover either here or overseas any other work which focused on a student perspective of training, carried out while students were engaged in courses of training. Secondly, overseas literature on teacher education is of limited usefulness because of different forms of delivery. Searches through ERIC, in particular, reveal mostly American sources, and describe a range of teacher training institutions and practices, few of which are relevant to New Zealand. However, in his most recent study, Goodlad (1990) suggests that teacher training in America should be changed in ways remarkably similar in style and structure to the current New Zealand practice.

Longitudinal Research

A longitudinal study has the potential to record changes in the perceptions and understandings of those involved over time - in this case the perceptions of students and beginning teachers over three or four years. When researchers are able to work collaboratively with staff in the colleges, information can be fed back at regular intervals and so help to influence or confirm decisions being made about college programmes. A longitudinal study may also provide an important part of a firmer research base for the discussion of the larger policy questions about the effectiveness of courses of teacher education.

As the study has progressed, however, we have become increasingly aware of certain limitations to a longitudinal approach. Teacher education in New Zealand is in a period of rapid change, because of both external pressures and the constant revision of courses by staff in each of the colleges as they attempted to improve the experience of students. In this situation, specific data date rapidly. Courses taken by subsequent intakes of students differed from those undertaken by our cohort. Some of the staff involved in the early stages subsequently left and new lecturers had to be familiarised with the study.

Methodology

We began our study with the cohort of students who entered the Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch colleges of education in 1989 and finished the field work with interviews of them as beginning teachers in 1992. The study used a mixture of research techniques: questionnaire surveys of the total cohort; face-to-face interviews of a sample of the cohort; and perusal of college records and documents. The questionnaires gathered quantitative data which we were able to 'flesh out' or enlarge with the more qualitative data of the interviews, allowing us to describe the experience of teacher education for these students as it unfolded over time. Because Auckland had the largest intake, overall figures most clearly reflected the experience of Auckland students. We also used group interviews twice in this study. In the preparatory stages we had sessions with final-year students who were not going to be part of the main study where we discussed with them the key issues which they thought should be raised with the incoming group of students as part of our research project. We carried out a second series of group interviews with graduate students in our cohort in each of the colleges towards the end of their preservice training.

The data collection started with a postal questionnaire which recorded the attitudes and perceptions of the cohort of trainees at the time of their selection for teacher training at the end of 1988. A sample of students was then interviewed each year as they progressed through their training. In their final year, all three- and four-year trainees in the cohort were surveyed again. Finally, all those students who obtained jobs were interviewed towards the end of their first year of teaching, and those who did not obtain jobs were surveyed by postal questionnaire. An important part of the study was the regular report-back sessions for staff and students, which aided us in interpreting the data.

Response Rate

Table 1 gives the numbers of questionnaires returned and students interviewed for each year of the study.

Table 1

Numbers of Questionnaires and Interviews Completed
for Each Year of the Study

Year of study	Questionnaires Returned		Interviews Completed	
	No.	%	No.	
1989	549	81	107	
1990	0		105	
1991	289	80	74	
1992	36	69	100	(Beginning teachers)

The Cohort of Students

Most of the students who entered the three colleges of education in our study were women (81%). Fifty-three percent of them were under 20 years of age; 31% were between 20 and 29 years; and 16% were 30 years and over. Seventy-eight percent of the students identified as Pakeha/European; 16% as Maori; 4% as Pacific Island; and 3% were from other ethnic backgrounds.

Tracking the Students

The population covered by the study was all students selected to start training as primary teachers at the three colleges in February 1989. Any notion that the study could simply take a cohort of students at the start of their training, follow them through a fixed course, and survey them all again as they left college was quickly dispelled. The reality turned out to be much more complex. Besides covering three colleges whose courses all differed from one another, the cohort included university graduates who undertook a shortened two-year period of training, and students who entered for the normal three-year course of training but subsequently enrolled for B.A. or B.Ed. degree courses which extended their training to four years. A number of students resigned from the course or deferred their studies for varying periods of time. Table 2 provides the details of the 1989 cohort of students and the various paths they followed.

Table 2

Paths Followed by Students in the 1989 Cohort

Total	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh	
Students who were sent questionnaires in 1989	367	193	181	41
Students who completed questionnaires in 1989	251	142	156	549
Students who completed a TWO-YEAR course or a shortened course	27	28	34	89
Students who took a FOUR-YEAR B.ED. course	NA	25	25	50
Students who have left or are on leave from the college	41	33	42	125
Students who completed the original 1989 questionnaire and were **sent** a questionnaire in 1991	183	56	46	285
Students who completed the original 1989 questionnaire and **returned** the 1991 questionnaire	149	43	35	227
Students who returned the 1991 questionnaire but had not returned the 1989 questionnaire	45	15	2	62

Not only did various groups of students pursue different programmes of training, but the courses within the programmes also differed. The various training options available to students made it unlikely that the experience of one student matched precisely that of another, even within the same college. This made it difficult to compare students in order to fulfil one of the original aims of the research - to 'establish those factors which contribute to variations in students' progress through their course of training'.

Students Who Did Not Obtain Full-time Teaching Positions

We also attempted to track those students who had not obtained full-time teaching positions in 1992. Once again because students had left the colleges it was difficult to contact them. However, out of a total of 166 questionnaires sent, 89 were returned (54%). Included in the 89 were 20 students who had obtained full-time jobs since receiving our questionnaire.

Although respondents had not had full-time teaching jobs during that first year, a high proportion of the 89 respondents were involved in teaching in some way. At the time they completed the questionnaire 52 (58%) were teaching in the school system, in early childhood, or doing a teacher-related job such as home tutoring. The majority were in relieving positions in schools.

Those who did not get jobs had similar observable characteristics to those who did. There seemed to be no factors such as their unwillingness to move to a job, their unwillingness to teach at all levels of the primary school, or their gender or ethnicity which explained their failure to obtain a job. The only significant difference between the two groups was age ($\chi^2 = 6.064$, df = 2, $p = .048$). Those in our cohort aged 20-29 had the greatest chance of being offered a job (70/30), followed by those over 30 (60/40). The least likely age group to be appointed to a full-time permanent position were the younger graduates who had been under 20 years of age on entry to college. Our data did not match the differences in employment chances of graduating students found in smaller studies undertaken in Auckland (Cameron and Grudnoff, 1990) or Wellington (Smith, 1992).

The graduates themselves (53 of the 64 who answered this question) were quite sure that the main reason they had not secured full-time permanent jobs was the limited number of jobs available, rather than any failing in their training or lack of commitment in seeking jobs - many had applied for between 20 and 50 jobs. The responses of those graduates who did not obtain full-time teaching positions indicate that the majority are still committed to teaching as a career. Almost a year after leaving the colleges most have set out to maintain contact with schools and teaching through seeking day-relief or short-term relieving positions. Those who do not have teaching or teacher-related jobs have not actively rejected teaching in favour of an alternative career; they have taken up other employment only because they could not find a teaching position. Many of the graduates are angry and disillusioned by their situation but still intend to keep on applying for teaching jobs. This could reflect a number of factors:

- The success of the selection process in choosing applicants who are dedicated to teaching.
- The success of lecturers and associate teachers in capitalising on this initial enthusiasm and building a commitment to teaching.
- Graduates' determination not to waste their time and money spent training and to gain the reward of a teaching job for their effort.
- Graduates' confidence in their ability to be good teachers, given the opportunity.

Profiles of Beginning Teachers and Their Previous Experience as Students

In each of our earlier reports we included six student profiles because, as we explained then, when research data are analysed according to questions asked of respondents it is easy to lose sight of the individuals who make up the study. The student profiles were intended to give a more rounded view of individual students. We have continued the same idea in this report by concluding with four profiles of beginning teachers and their earlier experience as students, hoping to emphasise the point considered in the report, when we discussed students' personal biographies: that each student arrived at a college of education with a story to tell about their lives so far, and that their life story continued to be part of, and was influenced by, their experiences at college and the first year in the classroom. The profiles also emphasise the longitudinal nature of the study and indicate how student views changed over time. We had originally hoped to get beginning teachers to keep diaries of their experience but were cautioned away from this approach because of their workload and the amount of material diaries would have generated, which we would probably not have had time to handle adequately. In a sense these four profiles are a substitute for the diaries.

Preparing To Become a Primary Teacher

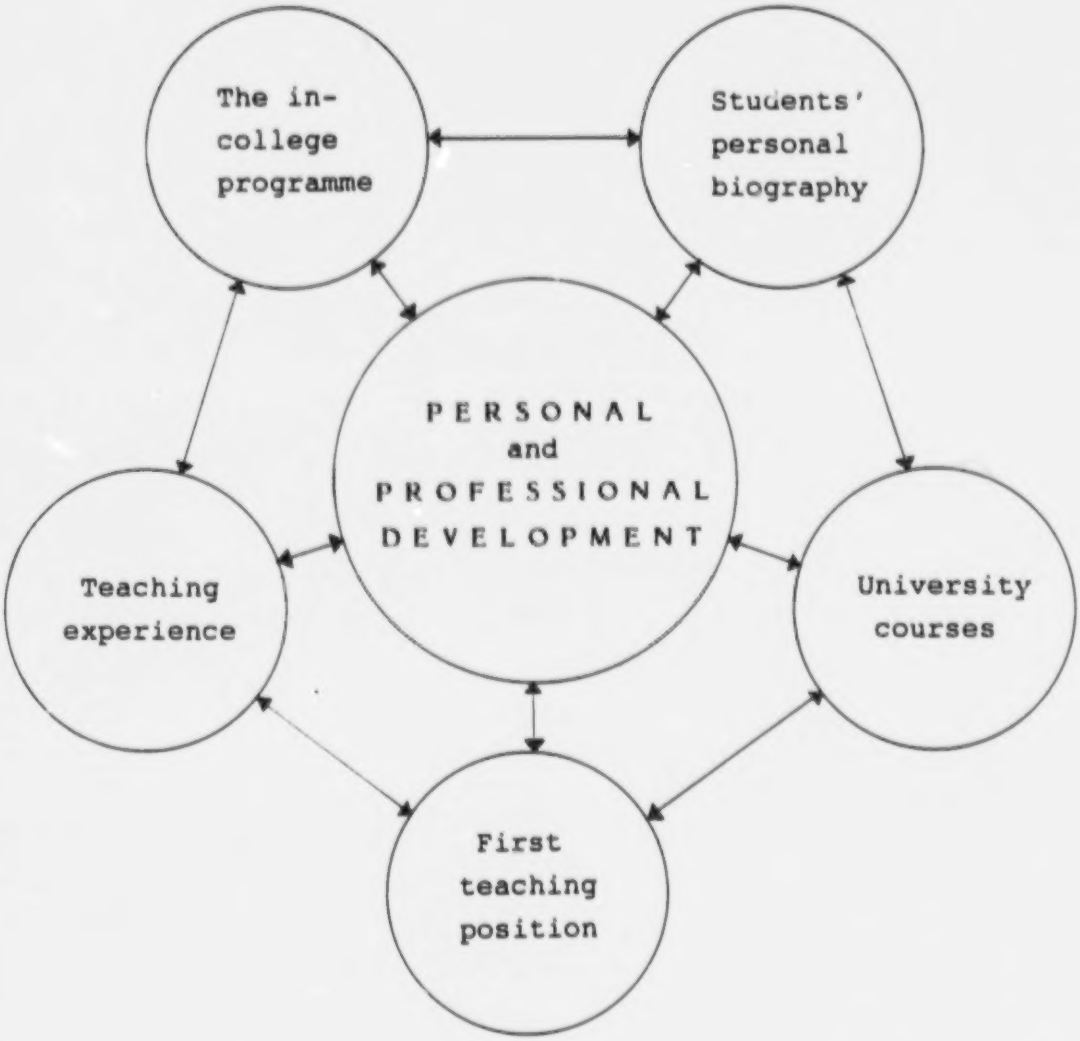
There are two major components of a student's preparation to become a primary classroom teacher: their personal and their professional development. It is not necessarily possible or desirable to draw a clear dividing line between the two. Many factors and experiences contribute towards both. Those we have identified are:

- the student's personal biography: those qualities, abilities, and skills students bring with them to their course of training, and continue to develop,
- the experience of the in-college part of their training,
- the teaching experiences students have while they are at college,
- courses of university study students have undertaken before or during their college course, and
- students' anticipation and actual experience of their first teaching position, particularly the school to which they are appointed and the age and composition of their first class.

Figure 2 summarises these factors and experiences.

Figure 2

Students' Preparation To Be Primary Teachers



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These factors and experiences interlock. The significance of each varies from student to student. All contribute towards a student's ultimate effectiveness in the classroom. On the basis of our study, we cannot give a weighting to the importance of any one factor - and we doubt whether individual students could do so either. All play their part, and all need to be considered when commenting on the ways students progress towards becoming effective beginning teachers.

Students' comments about their training highlighted a number of recurring issues and themes, including:

- The continuing influence of their past experiences on their present training.
- The vital importance of the two sites of teacher education - the college and the primary school - and the need for the interconnectedness of the two to be acknowledged and built on.
- The importance of the social context of learning to be a teacher. Students are helped to develop their own philosophy of education and classroom practices by sharing ideas with others in training.
- The need for preservice training to be seen as a crucial part in a chain of professional development which began before the student entered college and should continue after they are appointed to the classroom.
- The fact that students learn from the training experiences with which they are confronted, and that if they do not have a particular experience, for example, an opportunity to observe science teaching, they cannot profit from it.
- The need for training experiences to be long enough, and sufficiently 'rich' and varied, for students to have time to reflect on them and develop their own philosophy and practices.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

These generalisations are based on the perceptions of students and beginning teachers who were part of a four-year longitudinal study of teacher education in three New Zealand colleges of education: Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, between the years 1989-1992.

- The present system of teacher education produces competent and committed beginning teachers.
- Students entering colleges of education already possess many of the personal qualities associated with successful teachers. The influence of each student's personal biography endured through their three years at college and into the classroom.
- The college courses, and associated teaching practice sections, enable students to lay the foundations of professional knowledge and skill.
- Students tended to choose subjects as 'majors' in areas of particular strength or interest. Beginning teachers were almost invariably pleased with the way subjects they had majored in at college were going in the classroom.
- In all three colleges, the objectives which students consistently felt the college had addressed best were those related to knowledge of curriculum and the acquisition of teaching skills. The objective which consistently rated the lowest was extending the academic education of students.

- Students tended to judge their college course according to the strength of individual departments and lecturers.

- In their second year of training, the majority of students did not think 'the college' had articulated a view of what makes a 'good teacher'. Students themselves emphasised the need for a good teacher to possess certain personal attributes and to be a good manager within the classroom. They rarely referred to teachers needing to be well informed about curriculum content.

- During the course of training most students changed their views as to how children learn. The most common change was a move towards a more child-centred approach and to being more aware of children as learners rather than themselves as teachers.

- Students on the whole regard the teaching methods advocated by the college to be up-to-date or in advance of practices in the schools, although they may consider individual lecturers to be out of touch with the classroom.

- When students were questioned about the college assessment procedures, their main concern was that assessment should assist their learning and give them a valid credential at the end of the course.

- About two-thirds of the students across the three colleges said they had not had the opportunity to learn as much Maori language as they would have liked. This was particularly the case in Auckland and Christchurch.

- The majority of students who did not take university courses said that this was because of the extra fees and expenses involved. Students who did take university courses expected that the courses would be directly useful to them in a primary school classroom.

- Students who had taken university courses were more likely to think that they had made the right decision than those who had not.

- At the end of their training, 97% of students were either confident (57%) or very confident (40%) about teaching; only 3% said they were 'not very confident'.

- More than 90% of students over all were confident or very confident about their knowledge of curriculum content in language, physical education, mathematics, and art. More than 85% were also confident or very confident in social studies, science, and health. Thirty percent of students said they were not at all confident about the curriculum content in music, and 48% were not at all confident about the curriculum content in Maori.

- Students over all were most likely to be looking forward to teaching reading, physical education, and written language. These were also the curriculum areas where they have had most experience in schools during training.

- Students were least likely to be looking forward to using computers in the classroom and teaching Maori and music.

- Nearly all students (96%) said they were either 'very confident' (42%), or 'confident' (54%), about running an integrated curriculum programme in their own classroom.

- Students were likely to think the most useful part of their training was the teaching practice sections, supported by particular college courses and individual lecturers.

- At the end of training, 80% of students were as motivated or more motivated to be primary teachers as at the beginning of their course.

- The main changes to courses of training advocated by graduating students were: more practical experience and courses of more relevance to the classroom; and more course content for course length.

- Once in the classroom it was not obvious to the researchers at which college the beginning teachers had trained.

- Beginning teachers varied in their reaction to their college training but most believed that the college courses, along with the associated teaching practice sections, had prepared them for most curriculum areas and for classroom planning and management.

- Most beginning teachers held the view that all children were capable of learning, and it was the teacher's responsibility to ensure that this occurred.

- Most beginning teachers were enjoying the challenge of their first year in the classroom, although they were also exhausted by the effort required to get a class up and running and to maintain the necessary planning and preparation, particularly in the first half of the year. They frequently commented on how much they had learnt during the year.

- The confidence of beginning teachers increased as the year progressed; there were no beginning teachers whose confidence had decreased.

- A priority for most beginning teachers was to establish their classroom programme in the three Rs.

- Most beginning teachers favoured an integrated approach to teaching, although not all had achieved as much integration of curriculum areas as they would wish.

- It was common for beginning teachers to find it difficult to deal with children with special learning needs but most had good support within the school.

- By the third term most beginning teachers felt they were able to assess children's work reasonably well, although for at least half this was not so at the beginning of the year.

- Most beginning teachers were using their assessments of children to evaluate their teaching programmes, either formally or informally.

- Of the three issues of equity which we discussed with them, teachers found the socio-economic status of the children in the class of more importance than racism or sexism.

- Preservice training needs to be seen in the context of a teacher's continuing inservice professional development once in the classroom. Most beginning teachers felt responsible for their own professional development but they did need professional support in their first teaching position. This was usually provided by tutor teachers, other colleagues, and professional development courses.

- Those graduating students who did not have full-time teaching positions felt they were as well qualified as those who had gained jobs. Most were committed to teaching and were employed in a teacher-related job.

- One of the most vital relationships in the training of teachers is that of the college of education and the primary school. The role of the school and classroom teacher in the training and induction of beginning teachers needs to be more clearly articulated.

Overall Impressions

I feel really confident with my teaching this year. It's gone really well, probably better than I'd expected. I've coped surprisingly well. I've come across a number of things that I thought I'd never come across, even to children throwing up in the classroom and parents crying in the classroom with their children. I've had to deal with all those things and somehow you seem to manage to come through it. I'm really confident and am really enjoying it. (Christchurch)

The first term was the pits. I didn't know what I was doing ... it was like walking around in the dark. Then halfway through the second term it started to fit into place and the children got used to me and I got used to them and this term's been wonderful ... I'll never forget the first day of having them all march into your class and sit on the mat and 30 little faces looking expectantly at you as though they were totally trusting, and thinking, 'My God, I don't know what I'm doing' ... and that fear that gripped in my throat as I looked at them and thought, 'It must get better'. And it has got better and I know now that even though I was flailing about they were still learning.... (Wellington)

Really tough, especially at first. I think you have to give up a lot of your social life because of the amount of sleep you need to keep going so that you are still enthusiastic and energetic each Monday morning. Things like that I've found have been the biggest change from when you're at college where your hours are

> different. Now, being the third term, I feel a lot more confident and I'm more competent. I can see now that I definitely will make it in teaching. It's not something that's a struggle now, as I felt it was in the first two terms. The first term was just a shock to the system. The second term was a lot of hard work and realisation of what the job actually is. The third term is actually applying all those things that you've learnt in the first two and finding that it's not so bad after all. I'm starting to really enjoy it now. (Auckland)
>
> I'm most pleased with the fact that I've still got my class under control at this time of the year because it was a big thing - 'can I get my class under control?' That was one question I always had and they're all working really well together and I get on well with them. I'm pleased with the way that my general class programme is running. Things are running pretty smoothly and we have quite a bit of fun. Apparently I'm quite a firm teacher and I'm pleased at that. Not many people get away with anything in my room. I always thought that would be an area that I'd have problems, but I haven't. (Auckland)
>
> Actually I'm finding it very good because I have marvellous support from my tutor teacher. All of my colleagues are very supportive, so the transition from college to school has been a lot easier than I thought because of the support. (Christchurch)
>
> I think it really pleases you when you see a child get something that you've been teaching and just smile about it and be happy. The kid's happy and they know that you're happy with them. I really love that and I think, when you've spent your weekend tidying up your room, doing your art display, doing your planning and you come in the next week and the whole week just runs perfectly smooth because it's ready to go. The kids are just so much more motivated. There are no pauses or hesitations, so I love it. (Auckland)

These are beginning teachers talking about their first year in the classroom: their impressions of their first year, the things that are going well and not so well.[3]

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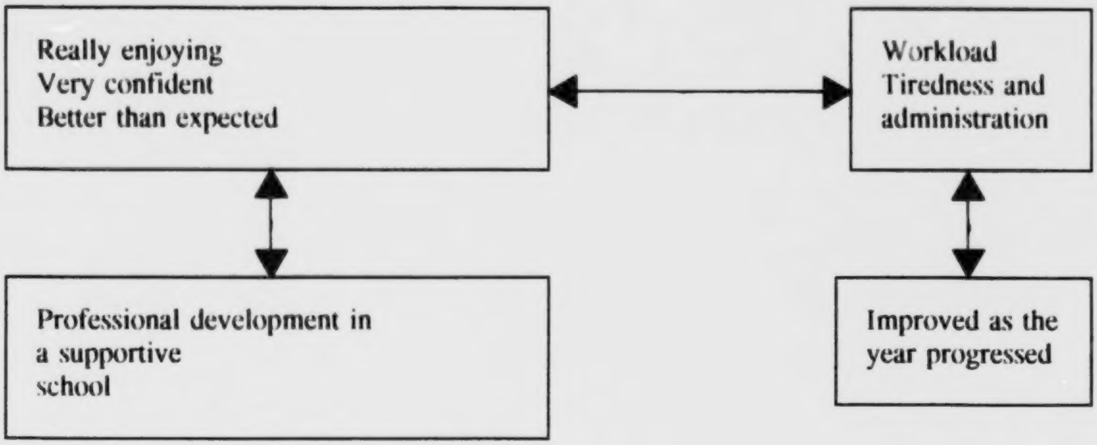
[3] For a more complete account of beginning teachers' perceptions of their first year in the classroom see Renwick, M. and Vize, J. (1993) *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 4, The First Year in the Classroom.*

The responses of the 100 beginning teachers as to how they felt, now that they were in the classroom, are summarised in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Beginning Teachers' Overall Impressions of Teaching


Really enjoying
Very confident
Better than expected
Workload
Tiredness and administration
Professional development in a supportive school
Improved as the year progressed

About three-quarters of the beginning teachers from each college said in their initial comment - often in the first sentence - how much they were enjoying the experience. It was 'going well', 'pretty fabulous really', 'heaps of fun', 'really positive actually, really, really good', '... great, excellent: I love it'. A smaller number of these beginning teachers spoke of how confident they were and, despite the fact that others emphasised how stressful teaching was, they found they were coping better than they had anticipated.

Hard work and stress did, however, categorise the next important group of comments - sometimes made by the same beginning teachers. They were enjoying teaching, but it was 'full-on work'. They had thought they were prepared but the reality of the classroom was 'overwhelming'; it was the kind of job to which there was no end and they were often exhausted. For a small group of beginning teachers, usually in Auckland or Wellington, this was because of difficult children or problems within the school. More commonly it was the effort required to get a class up and running, and to maintain children's work programmes. Part of the pressure was from the amount of planning, organising, preparing, and marking within the classroom - 'everything you do, you do for the first time'; part was from administrative paper work, which could be frustrating; and part was from the extracurricular activities commonly taken on by beginning teachers.[4] A number of beginning teachers referred to the way their job had taken over their lives, although by the time they were interviewed many of them had taken some control over the amount of time they devoted to teaching. A common comment was that you could spend 24 hours a day on teaching and still do more, but for your own wellbeing you had to set limits to allow time for family, friends, sport, or other leisure-time pursuits. However, it was also common for beginning teachers to say how much the situation had improved as the year progressed. At first they may have 'felt like fish drowning', but by the third term they were amazed at how much they had learnt and were now more confident and at ease.

A major factor contributing to their increased confidence was the support they had received from their tutor teacher, and other staff with whom they worked, perhaps as members of a syndicate or in an open-plan situation. There were no examples of beginning teachers whose confidence had decreased.

Other comments made by smaller numbers of beginning teachers about their reaction to their first year in the classroom were:

- How lucky they were with the class they had been appointed to teach - 'a neat bunch of kids!'
- The relief and excitement of actually being in a class after having applied for so many jobs.
- How much they had learnt because of the varied experiences they had had, perhaps initially as a relief teacher teaching at various levels, or because they were teaching in an area where they had not expected to teach.
- Irrelevance of some college courses, and lack of preparation for some specific tasks, particularly classroom administration.
- The difficulty of coping in a situation for which they were not specifically prepared, because of, for example, the age level of the class; the mixed ethnic composition of the class; the age range within a class, for example, whanau groupings; or the type of school, for example, an intermediate or secondary school.

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[4] These findings confirm those of an earlier New Zealand study - *see* Battersby (1984).

Things That Were Going Well

About half a dozen teachers said they could not single out any particular things because they were equally pleased with all their classroom experiences - 'everything's fine'. Most comments fell into one or more of the following five categories:

1. Satisfaction with their classroom management and organisation and the general running of the class programme, including:

    - the atmosphere in the classroom,
    - behaviour and discipline, usually because they felt they had started the year with clear guidelines and firm control, or their success in controlling the class had increased as the year progressed,
    - establishing clear and effective classroom routines,
    - increased confidence about ability to plan effectively,
    - evaluating of children's work,
    - coping with the age range or composition of the class, and
    - success in managing a difficult child or class.

    More than half of the beginning teachers made comments categorised in this way.

2. The children in the class including:

    - pleasure at working with children and the rapport between teacher and children, and
    - satisfaction in watching children's development and progress.

3. Excellent support within the school including:

    - excellent tutor teacher,
    - 0.2 allocation (i.e., release time for the professional development of beginning teachers),
    - approachable principal,
    - collegial attitude of other staff, particularly for those working with other teachers in a syndicate or in open-plan situations, and
    - relationship with parents.

4. Increased confidence with increased knowledge and general professional and personal development.

5. Rather fewer than a quarter of the beginning teachers referred to satisfaction with the class programme in specific curriculum areas. Four subjects were mentioned by beginning teachers across all colleges. The most frequently mentioned were reading and written language, followed by mathematics and physical education. All other curriculum areas were referred to, but usually by two or three beginning teachers only. One or two teachers also said how pleased they were with their use of a particular teaching method, for example, interactive teaching.

Things That Were Not Going So Well

About a quarter of the beginning teachers said there was nothing that was not going well, or nothing for which they could not get immediate help within the school, or that more experience would not solve. The comments of the remaining beginning teachers were often specific to a particular teacher or school, but they fell into four categories:

1. Planning and management, including time management, workload, administration, and paperwork:

    - There was so much to fit into a school day. Work was never-ending - 'have to learn not to attempt to build Rome in a day'.
    - To really teach as they would like to, a lot of time had to be put into preparation, marking, and record keeping out of school hours, including completing progress cards and writing reports.
    - There was much more administration and paperwork related to both the classroom and the school as a whole than anticipated.
    - The time spent on extracurricular activities, even though satisfying.
    - Having to cope with changes in school organisation when they were still not settled in their class or school.

2. Concern with classroom programme in specific curriculum areas:

   The most frequently mentioned was mathematics, mentioned by about a dozen beginning teachers across the three colleges. This was for a variety of reasons and included minor criticisms of college courses; being unprepared for a particular class level; and lack of school resources. Most other subjects were mentioned but only by two or three beginning teachers in each case. One or two beginning teachers were unhappy with the amount of time they were able to give to non-core subjects.

3. Coping with individual differences including: children from different ethnic backgrounds; gender differences; 'problem' children; children with disabilities.

4. Individual beginning teachers referred to pressure from parents; dislike of playground duty; evaluation; personality clashes with other staff; the 'ethos' of the school; not getting 0.2 allocation; being restricted by having to plan with other teachers; the need for a better relationship with parents; disappointment at not being able to be involved in special-needs teaching because there were already teachers in the school covering this; and concern about a prospective visit from the Education Review Office.

THE COLLEGE PROGRAMME

In the previous chapter, the reactions of 100 beginning teachers to their experiences in the classroom were summarised. In this chapter we look at the views of these and other students in their cohort to the college programmes designed to prepare them for the classroom. We also report some findings on university study.

Each of the colleges has a programme structure for students training to be primary teachers. The programme includes compulsory and optional courses, as well as regular periods of teaching practice in schools. At the time our study began, some students were taking concurrent courses at university; such courses were essentially the responsibility of the university and were not integrated into the college programme. This situation has now changed, and the new B.Ed. programmes at Auckland and Wellington are planned jointly between university and college staff.

When students made judgments about the training provided through the college programme, they were essentially reacting to their experience with a number of lecturers responsible for particular courses within college departments. It was difficult for students to generalise about their experience, because of the variation between departments and lecturers.

> It varies according to which department you are talking about. Some departments are very badly organised and you go to lectures and come out feeling that nothing has happened in terms of increasing your teaching methods and skills. It's just a waste of time. Other departments, e.g., phys. ed., are outstanding in that they target all their teaching towards the teaching programme and developing yourself as a teacher. (Auckland)

We collected information about students' experiences of the college programmes largely through our annual interviews of the 100 students across the three colleges in our interview sample. It was difficult to achieve comparability of student experience both between and within colleges. Individual colleges had a good deal of autonomy over their programmes, and although they operated under national guidelines they structured their training courses differently. A student at Auckland College of Education had a different training experience from one at Wellington or Christchurch. In addition, each student's experience was influenced by their subject choice within a college programme. Even courses which were compulsory were taken at different times of the year. Some students we interviewed in the first year, for example, had completed a Maori studies course which other students were just starting. Graduate students also had a different experience from other students.

Students' Overall Impressions of the College Programme

In general terms, over the three years students reacted to the college programme in the following ways:

Positively, because of:

- the friendly, supportive atmosphere among both staff and students,
- the range of courses of high standard offered,
- the excellence of individual lecturers, and
- the value of teaching practice.

Negatively, because of:

- lack of intellectual stimulation and challenge of some courses, particularly in the first year,
- lack of relevance for the classroom of some courses,
- wasted time and light workload,
- a minority of weak lecturers, and
- poor or confusing college organisation and administration.

The College Courses

Preservice college courses were offered to trainees as a collection of units, some of them optional. There was a core of compulsory subjects which was the same across all colleges, but the number and range of courses varied, as did the terminology used to describe them. During our study, all colleges were also in the process of reorganising their courses, so that the experience of the students in any year of our study was not necessarily that of students in subsequent years.

It was when students discussed their reactions to the various courses they were taking that they usually made both their most positive and critical comments about their college experience; but it was also the most difficult material to summarise in any useful way, because of the idiosyncratic nature of many students' experiences and the ephemeral nature of the data.

We did not include detailed students' comments about courses in our earlier reports for a number of reasons. Firstly, if the data were to be of value in influencing college programmes, information needed to be fed back as quickly as possible to the departments and lecturers concerned. Copies of the students' comments were sent directly to each of the colleges. As well as talking to staff as a whole, we also spoke with either the heads of departments as a group, or the staff of individual departments separately, in each of the colleges. Secondly, there was too much detail to include in a report, and, because of the range of courses available to students, individual courses might be taken by relatively few students in our interview sample. Thirdly, there were ethical considerations. We had guaranteed student confidentiality and undertook that no student or lecturer would be identified. We were interested in the most effective way of assisting lecturers to improve their college programme, not in public exposure of individual staff or in comparisons being made between departments and colleges.

However, in both the first and second year we did summarise the reasons students gave for thinking that some lecturers and courses were successful and others were not. It must be stressed that in discussing the reaction of students in our study to their college courses, we are discussing courses which have since changed. We are not in a position to say how the changes have influenced student attitudes. We think it likely that there will still be variation in the quality of lecturing and course content. If this is so, then although particular weaknesses may have been rectified, the general comments students made about why they valued some courses and were critical of others still apply.

Students' Comments About Courses

1. Much depended on the skills and personality of individual lecturers. Students appreciated lecturers who:
   - were enthusiastic about their subject,
   - were well prepared,
   - were good role models in their teaching methods - that is, who taught as students hoped to teach,

- presented their material in a lively manner,
- consulted with students on the course outline and allowed students some input and choice,
- were open to student comment and criticism,
- understood what was *now* happening in primary school classrooms,
- supported students and increased their confidence both as individuals and as future classroom teachers, and
- were equally concerned with all students, not just those who were good at a subject.

2. The course content and the way courses were organised were important. Students appreciated courses which:

- had stated objectives and lived up to them,
- were well planned and co-ordinated - courses with planned progressions that 'hung together',
- were stimulating, with challenging content that extended students,
- provided time for discussion, but did not use discussion as an excuse for not being well prepared,
- were relevant to the classroom while also recognising the importance of students' personal development; this was helped if lecturers:
  - gave concrete examples
  - provided opportunities for students to develop resources
  - provided useful notes and handouts
  - assisted students with lesson and unit plans
  - provided opportunities for practical experience with children
  - set practical assignments
  - suggested ideas which could be tried out on teaching practice section,
- combined curriculum content with pedagogical theory,
- focused on how children learn,
- recognised students' previous experience and were at an appropriate level (examples were given by students who had taken Maori at university but had to cover basic Maori vocabulary at college; who had done Form 7 mathematics but had to cover basic primary school numeracy skills; and who had a degree in music but had to cover basic notation),
- were continuous from the previous year's courses but did not repeat work already covered,
- provided a full workload of a high standard without 'busy work',

- covered relevant primary school curricula at all levels so that students were prepared equally well for all levels of the primary school (there was a common criticism that students felt more confident with junior and middle school than with intermediate level),
- made the relationship to other curriculum areas clear (students in all colleges raised the question of the 'integrated curriculum', saying that the curriculum tended to be 'broken up' in the college, and asking who had the responsibility to put it together again),
- demonstrated the relevance of educational theory to practical situations,
- were the right length for the content (there was a common feeling that 50-hour courses were too rushed and, in some cases, that an information overload resulted),
- increased student confidence, and
- recognised links with university courses.

3. Other issues raised by students were:
   - Was the assessment of the course appropriate (the quantity *versus* quality debate)?
   - Had the department 'got its act together'? Did the lecturers co-operate with each other without 'backstabbing'?
   - Did the department know where it fitted in with other departments, or did it think it was either the only, or the most important, department in the college?
   - Did the outside commitments of the lecturers interfere with their commitment to the college and the students?

The Colleges' Objectives

The college courses need to be viewed in the light of the aims and objectives which the colleges themselves set for teacher education. These are important statements against which to describe and measure the experience of students. When we began our study in 1989, each college published in its calendar a list of aims.[3]

It was these aims that we used in asking the students to comment on how well they felt the colleges had met their aims and objectives. In handling the material in our study, we have tended to find more similarities than differences between the beginning teachers even though they were trained in three different institutions. While each college had its own way of producing beginning teachers, their sets of aims and objectives were all similar and covered the academic, personal, and professional development of students. However, because the published lists of objectives were not identical for each college we have first analysed them separately, then highlighted common threads.

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[3] Over the period of our study, colleges, in line with all other educational institutions, have been required to develop charters. The process of developing a charter required extensive consultation with interested groups; employees, clients, and communities were all involved. The charter of each institution sets out in detail its aims and objectives.

How Well Do Students Feel the Colleges Achieved Their Aims?

We asked students at three points in the study to rate the college in terms of the achievement of the objectives each college had set itself. Three rather different groups were involved at each stage. The first was the sample of 107 students interviewed in their first year; the second was students completing a two-year course of training who were asked to give their assessment at the group interviews undertaken towards the end of their course; the third was the total cohort of three- and four-year students in the final year of their course, who answered a question on this in their questionnaire. Even though some students would have been involved in two of the three rating exercises, the ratings cannot be seen as ratings by students as they passed through each year of their course; rather they are the impressions of three distinct groups of students, surveyed at one point of their course. Students were asked to rate, on a scale of 1-5, how well they thought the college had addressed each of its own objectives. A score of 1 meant that the objective had 'not been addressed at all' and a score of 5 meant that the objective had been 'very thoroughly addressed'. In order to compare the ratings for each objective the mean rating was calculated for each group.

When we presented students with the college aims in our first-year interviews, it was often the first time that they had been made aware of the existence of such aims. Some of the aims may not have ranked very highly, but there was no great protest about their suitability.

Auckland

College Objectives

A. Create conditions that will foster growth of course members as educated professional people with informed and sensitive attitudes towards society.

B. The continued development of scholarship involving both the intellect and the imagination.

C. The continued growth of personal qualities, especially those of sensitivity, enthusiasm, and a sense of responsibility towards others.

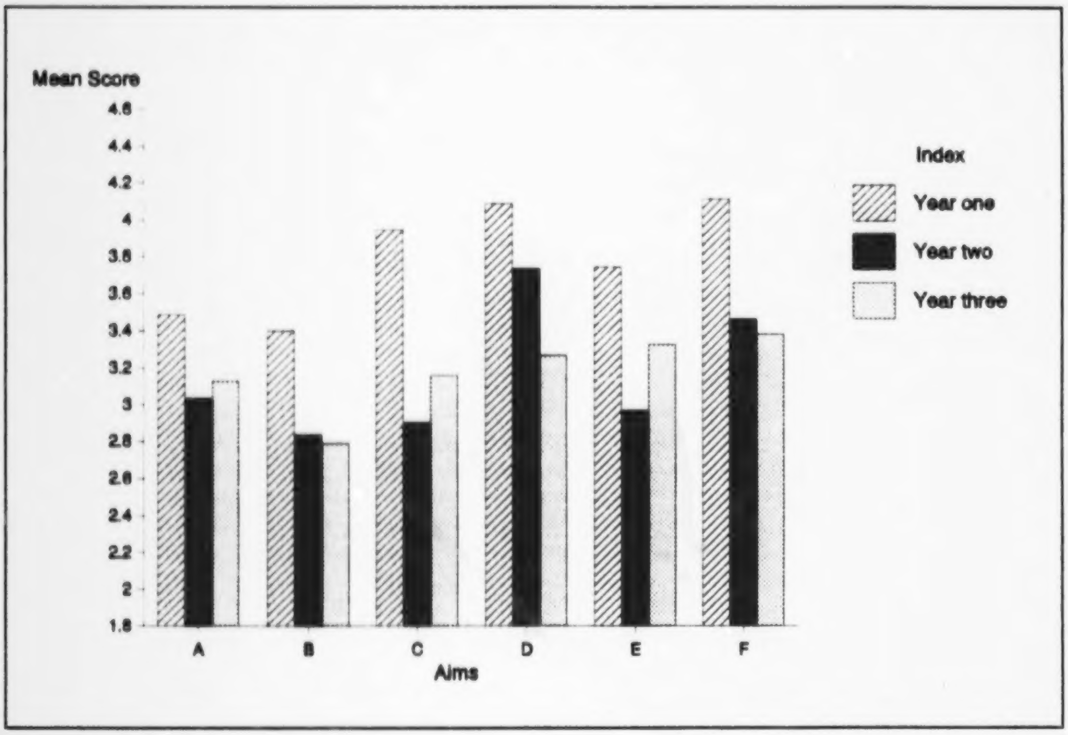
D. The acquisition of knowledge and skills and experience of value to a teacher.

E. The recognition that education is a lifelong process.

F. To provide academic and practical courses, educational experiences, and a wide range of additional activities offering opportunity for personal development.

Figure 4

Students' Ratings of Extent to which Auckland College Objectives Were Addressed: Mean Scores of Students



At Auckland:

- The ratings made by students in their first year were consistently higher than ratings made by the other groups in subsequent years. This was consistent with the comments made by most Auckland students who were interviewed about the quality of the first year of their training.

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- Students in all three years felt that objective F, 'to provide academic and practical courses, educational experiences, and a wide range of additional activities offering opportunity for personal development' had been very thoroughly addressed by the college; students in the first year and those in the third year rated objective F the highest, those in the second year rated it second.

- Objective D, 'the acquisition of knowledge and skills, and experience of value to a teacher', was also rated highly by each group.

- Students in all three years consistently gave the lowest ranking to objective B, 'the continued development of scholarship involving both the intellect and the imagination'.

Christchurch

College Objectives

A. Understand and apply the principles of learning, teaching, and effective human relationships.

B. Experience a wide range of teaching styles and strategies and demonstrate skills appropriately.

C. Know and implement appropriate curriculum areas.

D. Understand the national guidelines and principles of curriculum.

E. Extend their academic education.

F. Become sensitive to and learn the value of the diversity of cultural backgrounds of the learners.

G. Acknowledge and practise the principles of equity.

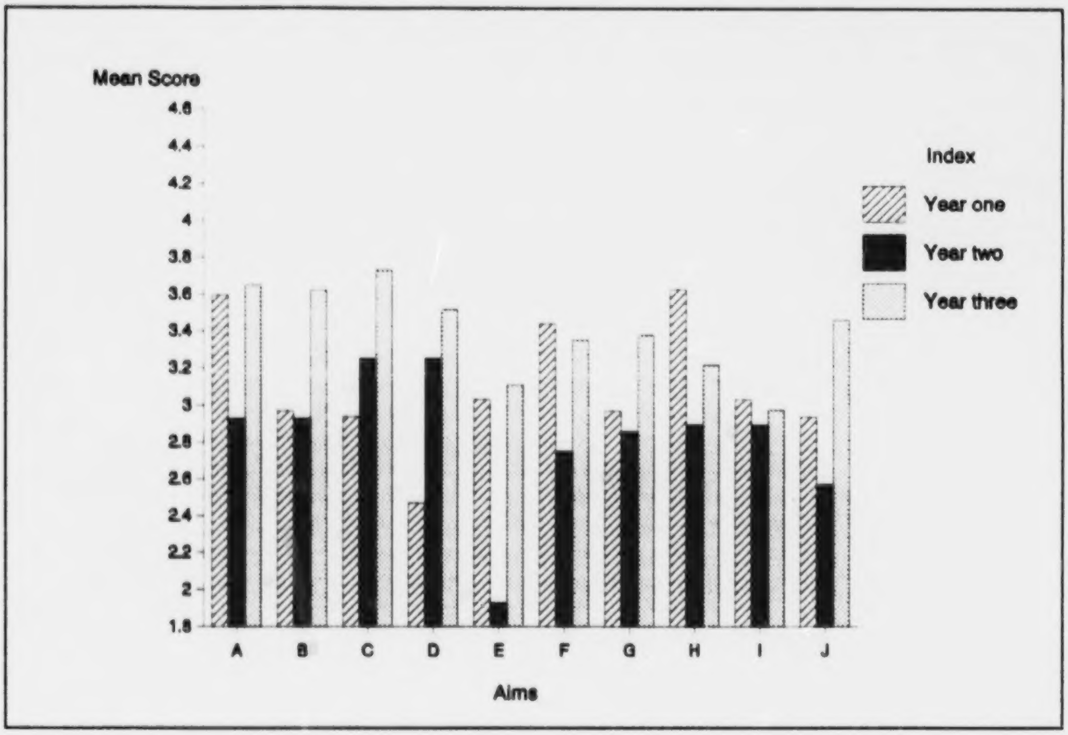
H. Use the library systems, educational technology, and resources effectively.

I. Have the opportunity to develop a range of personal interests.

J. Develop a sense of professional and corporate identity.

Figure 5

Students' Ratings of Extent to which Christchurch College Objectives Were Addressed: Mean Scores of Students



At Christchurch:

- Students in the third year tended consistently to rate the college higher than other years, with the exception of objectives F, H, and I. This finding supports comments made by the Christchurch students who were interviewed about their satisfaction with the third year of their training.

- Second- and third-year students, rating these objectives towards the end of their course, gave the highest rating to objective C, 'know and implement appropriate curriculum areas'; they also rated highly the other objective dealing with curriculum, objective D.

- Second- and third- year students gave a low rating to objective E, 'to extend their academic education'.

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College Objectives

A. The continued development of scholarship involving both the intellect and the imagination.

B. The continued development of personal qualities especially those of sensitivity, enthusiasm, and a sense of the teacher's responsibility towards society.

C. The development of an understanding of the history and purpose of education.

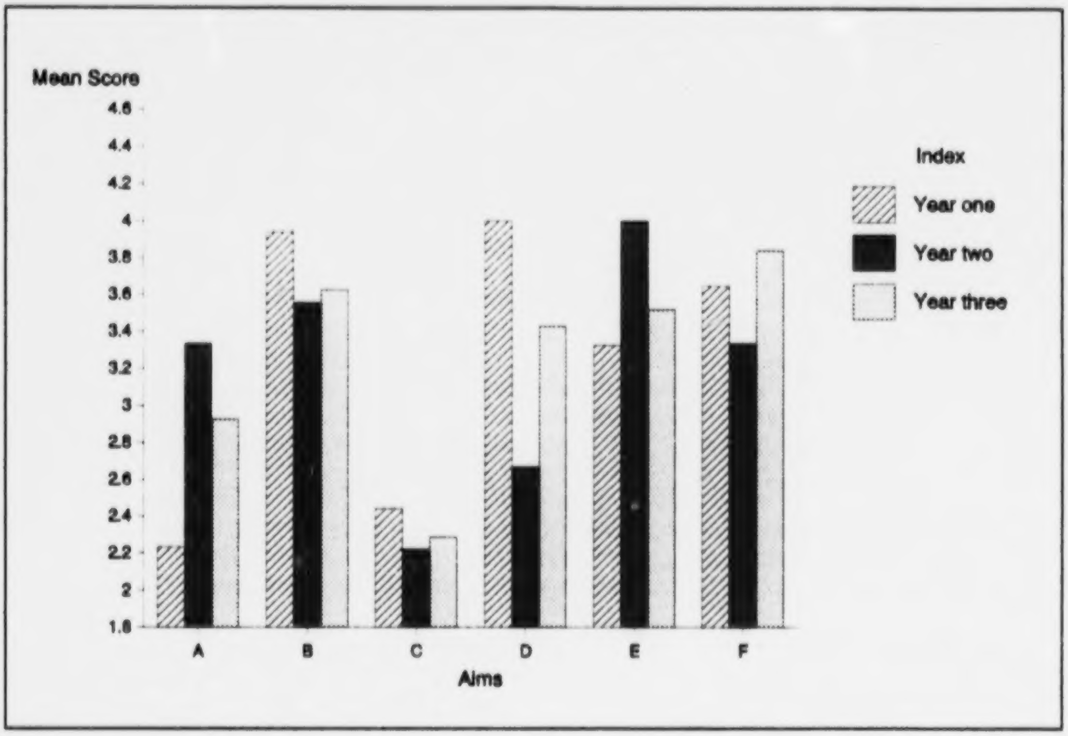
D. The promotion of an understanding of children, their growth, and how they learn.

E. The development of an understanding of school curricula.

F. The development of teaching and class management skills.

Figure 6

Students' Ratings of Extent to which Wellington College Objectives Were Addressed: Mean Scores of Students



At Wellington:

- There was a tendency for the first-year students to rate the college higher in achieving its objectives than students in other years, but this is not as clear a trend as with the first-year students in Auckland and the third-year students in Christchurch.

- 'The development of teaching and class management skills' is the objective which third-year students feel is best achieved by the college; 'the development of an understanding of school curricula' is the objective which second-year students feel is best achieved by the college.

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It is not possible to compare the colleges directly in terms of student ratings as to whether they have achieved their objectives. However, there is a clear tendency in both Auckland and Christchurch for students in one particular year to be more positive about the college having achieved its objectives than those in the other years.

In all three colleges, the objectives which students consistently felt the college had addressed best were those that related to knowledge of curricula and the acquisition of teaching skills. Achievement of these objectives also tended to be rated highly in each college regardless of student year.

The objective which consistently scored the lowest, again regardless of student year, was extending the academic education of students. This confirmed comments made by students in the interviews and questionnaires about the lack of academic challenge in college courses compared with Form 7 courses, and the need to seek out academic challenge by taking university courses.

Key Events in the College Programme

One of our initial research questions was to try to establish whether or not there were any key events - experiences or people - which stood out in the course of their training and were particularly influential in their development as teachers. Students were asked in the final questionnaire if this was the case. As one would expect, some answers were idiosyncratic - for example, a student who married another student, or the importance of a Christian Fellowship group. A few students isolated 'negative' critical events, such as an incompetent teacher on teaching practice section or increased student fees, but most were positive. There were differences by college, but overall students' responses fell into four categories:

1. The excellence of individual lecturers.
2. The value and relevance of specified courses.
3. The importance of teaching practice sections.
4. The importance of student relationships in a supportive environment.

Students' Overall Reaction to Their Preparation for the Classroom

As a summary question, we asked the total cohort of students: *Now that you have almost completed your course, has the college course prepared you adequately for the classroom?* Fifty-nine percent of the students answered 'yes', 25% said they were 'not sure', and 16% said it had not. There were differences by college, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Extent to Which College Course Has Prepared Students for the Classroom

Student prepared	Auckland % (N = 194)	Wellington % (N = 71)	Christchurch % (N = 60)
Yes	50	72	75
Not sure	28	20	22
No	22	8	3

It will be seen from Table 3 that students from Christchurch and Wellington were considerably more likely than those from Auckland to think the college course had prepared them adequately - Christchurch 75%, Wellington 72%, and Auckland 50% (χ^2 = 17.084, df = 2, p = 0). Students had the opportunity to add a comment and about half did so. Regardless of whether students had answered 'yes', 'no', or 'not sure' in response to the original question, there were recurring themes in their comments:

- there was only so much the college could do,
- some courses were more relevant than others and many could be improved,
- the course should have more practical work included, and
- a lot depended on the school and class the student was placed in.

Are Students More or Less Motivated To Teach Than When They Began the Course?

One measure of the success of a course of training is presumably the extent to which students were motivated to teach at the end of their training. We asked the students in their final-year questionnaire whether they were more or less motivated to be primary school teachers than when they began the course. Eighty percent of students over all said that they were either more motivated to be primary teachers than when they began the course, or about the same. The results were reasonably consistent across the three colleges.

Table 4

Students' Motivation To Teach at End of Course Compared With on Entry to College

	Auckland		Wellington		Christchurch	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	(N = 194)		(N = 71)		(N = 60)	
More motivated	98	51	34	48	36	60
About the same	56	29	19	27	18	30
Less	42	22	16	23	8	13
Missing data	-	-	2	3	-	-
Total	196	105	7	100	62	103

NOTE: The percentages total more than 100 because in a few cases students ticked more than one option.

Those students who said they were *more* motivated:

- Many of these students were confident in their ability to be effective teachers. They came into college wanting to teach and now believed they had the skills to do so. They were impatient to get out and have the responsibility of their own class.
- Many factors contributed towards this increased confidence, but the main one was the teaching experience they had in schools while they were in college.
- Successful teaching experience had increased their enthusiasm for teaching. They were encouraged by how well they felt they had related to the children they worked with and the pleasure they derived from seeing their progress.
- They saw teaching as a challenging and rewarding job. Some had a 'missionary fervour' to use their skills to improve a system which they believed was at present failing children. They 'owed it to the next generation'.
- Others commented on their own personal growth and development, and how their increased maturity would enable them to be more professional teachers.

Those students who said they were *less* motivated:

- The most important reason was students' disillusion because of poor job prospects.
- The students' concern that they may not get a job after completing three years' training was coupled with increasing awareness that teaching was a stressful job and the workload, including out-of-hours work, made them wonder whether teaching was the job for them. Such students were also likely to consider the pay inadequate.
- A smaller number of students, particularly from Auckland, expressed dissatisfaction with aspects of the college course, including the length and the slow pace in the third year. This contributed to their decreased motivation to teach.

Students' Confidence to Teach

We asked the students, *Now that you have almost completed your course - how do you feel about having your own class to teach?* Most students, 57%, were 'confident', and 40% were 'very confident'. Only 3% said they were 'not very confident.'

College Workload

We questioned students about the workload that had been expected of them as students each year they had been at college, and about the length of their training. Table 5 summarises students' responses to the question about the college workload. It will be seen that there were variations by college and that within colleges students differed from each other in their reaction to each year's college workload.

Table 5
The College Workload

Year	Too much %			About right %			Not enough %		
	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh
Year one	15	4	3	75	50	54	10	43	41
Year two	37	12	8	54	61	76	9	27	16
Year three	33	25	16	47	64	73	20	7	5

Note: For Auckland N = 194, Wellington N = 58, Christchurch N = 37

The four-year student figures have not been added here as these students followed a different course.[6]

Auckland

- Students were most likely to be satisfied with the workload in year one, 75% of students saying it was 'about right'. This percentage decreased to 54% in year two and 47% in year three.
- In each year the students who thought the workload was 'too much' was greater than the percentage who thought the workload was 'not enough'. In both cases these percentages were considerably lower than those who thought it 'about right'.
- The percentage of students who thought the workload was 'too much' and the percentage who thought it was 'not enough' both doubled between year one and year three. In year three, 33% of students thought the workload was 'too much' and 20% thought it was 'not enough'.

Wellington

- Students were most likely to think the workload was 'about right' in year three, 64% of students thinking this. This figure compares with only 50% who thought this was so in the first year.

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[6] In Christchurch a larger proportion of four-year students felt that there was 'not enough' work in the second (30%) and third (22%) years of their course when compared to three-year students. Four-year students at Wellington had very much the same opinions of each year's workload as the three-year students.

- Those students in years one and two who did not think the workload was 'about right' were likely to think the workload was 'not enough' - 43% in year one and 27% in year two. This percentage dropped to 7% in year three.
- Few students in years one or two thought that the workload was 'too much' - 4% in year one and 12% in year two. This percentage increased to 25% in year three.

Christchurch

- Students were more likely to think the workload was 'about right' in years two and three (76% and 73%) than in year one (54%).
- The percentage of students who thought the workload was 'not enough' dropped dramatically between year one and year three - from 41% to 5%.

Because of the variation in sample size between the three colleges, and the fact that the colleges organised their programmes differently and the experience of students within colleges differed depending on the courses they took, it is inappropriate to make much of the differences across colleges. The figures given in Table 5 do, however, support the impression we gained through interviewing students that those in Auckland were most satisfied with the content and pace of their first-year course. Students in Christchurch and Wellington were more inclined to think the pace was too slow in the first year. For these students, there was a dramatic improvement in the third year. The fact that a significantly higher percentage of Auckland students thought the workload in the third year was 'not enough' ($\chi^2 = 8.818$, $df = 2$, $p = .012$) needs to be seen against the backdrop of the greater demands made on them in their first year and their greater satisfaction with that year. The percentage also needs to be seen against that of other students in their own college who thought the workload in their third year was too high.

We looked at two other factors to try and explain these different attitudes to the workload. Firstly, we compared the responses of those students who were taking university courses with those who were not. We thought it possible that students who were undertaking university courses at the same time as a college course may have found the workload too great. Furthermore, many of those students who did not take university courses in their first year were concerned about the workload involved in taking both college and university courses and wanted to settle in at college first. However, there were no significant differences in the responses of the two groups of students towards the college workload. We also looked at whether parents with demands on their time from families had found the workload too great; but again, this did not seem to be a factor which would explain the differences.

Length of College Course

The students' attitude towards the total length of the college course is summarised in Table 6.

Table 6
Student Attitudes Towards the Length of the College Course

Length of course	Auckland %	Wellington %	Christchurch %
Too short	2	2	0
About right	36	43	62
Too long	61	52	38

Note: Auckland N = 194, Wellington N = 58, Christchurch N = 37.
Four-year student figures have not been added.[7]

We can only speculate about the reasons for the differences between colleges. They may reflect student attitudes towards their workload, particularly in their third year of training.

Students Who Thought the Course Was Too Long
Students were given the opportunity to comment about the length of their training. About 100 of the students who thought the course was too long added a comment and most of these were from Auckland.

Auckland
The Auckland students' comments tended to fall into two related categories:

- Too much time was wasted; the course was drawn out and repetitious.
- The course could have been completed in two years, particularly for mature students.

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[7] In Christchurch 65% of four-year students felt the course was 'about right' and 35% felt the course was 'too long'. Figures for the four-year students from Wellington are 46% 'about right', 54% 'too long'.

It is important to note that in Auckland all students now entering the college are required to undertake university study. This was not the case when we began our research project.

Typical comments were:

> Could be cut down to a two-year full-time course as in 8.30 a.m. until 5 p.m.
>
> It really is a two-year course spread over three years.
>
> Without having four-hour breaks between lectures we could complete the training in two years.
>
> My first year was good because I needed to adjust to college life but because I am a mature student with many skills that younger people need to develop, I don't think I needed to be here for three years.
>
> It was okay for me as I have completed my degree in the three years I have been here.

Wellington and Christchurch

Wellington and Christchurch students who were critical of the length of the course, although less vocal and emphatic than those from Auckland, also said they believed the course as they experienced it could have been done in two years. This was particularly the case for students not taking university classes.

Typical comments were:

> The most useful courses could be put together for a shortened (two-year) course. I found the third-year courses very useful and second- and first-year courses significantly less useful. (Wellington)
>
> This should be a two-year course. This would develop a challenge amongst students and lecturers. Too many/much spare time and classes drawn out to make them go the distance which makes them boring. (Wellington)
>
> Year one and two could be combined. (Christchurch)

Students Who Thought the Length of Course Was About Right

About half of these students added a comment. Although they believed three years was necessary if the course continued to be organised the way it was, many of these students echoed comments made by those who thought the course was too long - too much time was wasted. A number of these students also said that if the course was better organised it could be done in two years. The main argument for believing three years was necessary was to ensure that students had enough practical experience in schools. Others also commented that three years was necessary for their personal growth and to develop their own philosophy of teaching.

Typical comments were:

> You need three years to gain experience and strategies. If the course was shortened you would not have tried out a variety of techniques on section that are needed. If you could do six teaching sections in two years then a shortened course would be brilliant. (Wellington)
>
> At the end of my second year, my associates and I thought that I was ready for teaching, and that three years was too much for me. But in this last year I have changed so much and matured also. I thought I knew everything then, but now I realise that I'm at the beginning, and that is exciting! (A little scary too.) (Wellington)
>
> It is not the length of time but the content of the courses which should be looked at. (Christchurch)
>
> I was tempted to tick 'too long', but I wouldn't want to miss out on the third-year elective courses I took. Terrific value. (Christchurch)
>
> There is a lot of wasted time. I would have benefited from having extra music and reading tuition, however, there was a limit of four options in our third year. Most of the popular courses were overfull and there was not a second stream available to cater for people who really wanted to learn more. Frustrating! (Auckland)
>
> The three years gives a good chance to breathe in an 'educational' environment in preparation for teaching, *but* more could be packed into the course. (Auckland)
>
> I was asked if I wanted to shorten my course (due to previous experience) however, I felt the three years were necessary and I am glad I chose this option. (Wellington)
>
> I didn't start forming my own philosophy about teaching until my third year and things really came together in this year. (Wellington)

Beginning Teachers' Views on the Relevance and Effectiveness of Their Training

An important measure of the success of college courses in preparing students for the classroom must be how beginning teachers in the classroom perceive the relevance of the training they had received. We asked the beginning teachers to think back to their time at college, now that they had been in the classroom for nearly a year. Had their views on the effectiveness of their training changed? In what ways did they now think they had been well prepared, and in what ways had they not been well prepared? Some beginning teachers found these difficult questions to answer. College now seemed a long way away. They were so absorbed in their ever-present classroom experiences that it was hard to recall what they had thought about college while they were students, and the extent to which their views had changed. Nor was it always possible to say where they had learnt which teaching skill. The first year in the classroom had in itself been such a vital learning experience.

Beginning teachers were divided as to whether or not their views of their training had changed now that they were in the classroom. A small number - ten in Auckland, six in Wellington, and three or four in Christchurch - acknowledged that they now thought the college course had been of more value than they had thought at the time - 'excellent in retrospect'. They now realised that what they had thought of as a waste of time - aspects of the programme as various as making resources, planning and management, report writing, and the value of child studies and knowledge of child development - were in fact valuable. In the words of two beginning teachers:

> I think that in the past I've been a little bit over critical of some of the training I've received because it's not until I'm out here on the front line that I realise the amount of things that you have to learn and in a short period of time. I can see the other side of the coin now that I'm here. I think that the training college tried to do their best to prepare you in terms of courses and on reflection now I think that they can only do so much. I'm out here now and I've drawn on so much of it to help me through the day, to help me through the month, to help me through the year, that I can see that if you are going to set someone up for teacher training, you have to cover such a broad spectrum that you can't isolate things down so what they try and do is give you this whole view and then as you go out you can actually draw bits and pieces off. That's how I look at it now. (Wellington)

> When I was at college I honestly thought that a lot of what we were doing was ... not a complete waste of time, but I thought that I wasn't actually learning a lot. But having been in the classroom now I think that if I'd gone straight from university into the classroom, there's a lot of skills that I have now that I didn't have then. So obviously you internalise something at college that you don't actually realise is happening until you get out there in the classroom. (Christchurch)

Another small group of students left college thinking they were well prepared, only to realise it 'was a different story in the classroom'. 'There is still heaps to learn', particularly about time-consuming administrative duties.

Others accepted that there was a limit to what the college could achieve. It was not until students had the full responsibility of their own class that they really knew what skills they needed and where the gaps were in that knowledge. For this reason some thought that time back at college *after* they had been in the classroom for a while would be more useful than some of the preservice courses.

The most common complaint of those who said their views had changed (shared by those who said their views had been confirmed) was the lack of relevance for the classroom of some college courses - the gap between theory and practice, raised so frequently by students in the course of this study.

Those beginning teachers who said their views on the effectiveness of their training had not changed tended to do so for one of two reasons. Firstly, they had gone to college with a specific purpose in mind and they had achieved that purpose. It was over to the students to take out of the course what they needed. It was an effective preparation for teaching, provided students had clear goals of their own. Secondly, a small minority said they had not thought the course effective while they were students and they still held to that view.

Ways Beginning Teachers Were Well Prepared

Listening to the beginning teachers, particularly in Auckland, one sometimes wondered if they had all attended the same institution, their comments could be so conflicting. One of the explanations was possibly the fact that students, particularly in their third year, had a good deal of choice in their course selection and were reacting to rather different programmes. As one Auckland beginning teacher said, she 'chose brilliant courses in the third year' which turned out to be very appropriate for the level she was now teaching. Even if students took the same course, variation in the approaches of individual lecturers no doubt contributed to differing views of the value of courses. Beginning teachers also commented on the problem they had had as students of focusing their efforts when they did not know which school and class they were preparing themselves for. Some, for example, felt well prepared for the junior or middle school but were teaching Forms 1 and 2, or vice versa.

The beginning teachers' comments about the ways they had been well prepared tended to fall into three categories (not always discrete). There were differences by college in the proportion of beginning teachers' comments which fell into each of the categories, but the issues raised were similar.

1. The primary school curriculum, including strategies for learning and teaching:

   - About a dozen beginning teachers from Auckland and two or three from Wellington and Christchurch referred to having received good grounding across all curriculum areas - 'an overview of the primary syllabuses'.

   - More typically beginning teachers referred to their preparation to teach individual subjects. Those most frequently mentioned across the three colleges were reading (26); physical education (18); mathematics (21); and language (13). This was usually because of the practical nature of the courses.

2. Various aspects of planning, classroom management, and control, including: setting objectives; how to plan units, including looking for resources; daily planning and evaluating; planning in terms of personal organisation; thinking through objectives; management techniques; classroom organisation and environment; behaviour management.

3. Teaching practice, including:

   - The direct usefulness for the classroom, of ideas gained through teaching practice, in the light of college lectures.
   - The period of full control.
   - The wide range of experience of different schools and levels the students obtained through teaching practice was considered to be particularly helpful.
   - Lessons planned for teaching practice which could sometimes be used in first-year classrooms.

Examples of beginning teachers' comments were:

> I think I've been well prepared in terms of understanding the processes that schools run on and the kind of processes involved in teaching, in terms of planning in relation to curriculum requirements. We were offered lots of different approaches to teaching through different people. And again it was more the people - now I can think of the way that things were modelled to us rather than the models themselves. But we were presented with a range of different approaches and I felt well prepared in terms of understanding how a school works and understanding the whole system of getting what is in the curriculum into the kids. (Auckland)

> I think that what we were fed in terms of up-to-date curriculum knowledge was very good. I was very familiar with whole language; new growth, although the

> initiatives came out this year. The two major curriculum areas were addressed well. Yes, in terms of the theory and up-to-date curriculum knowledge that was well covered especially in Maori studies probably, language, maths, PE. I don't think the music department did such a good job. Social studies was good; science was good; so from that point of view I think that it was good preparation. Art could have been better. (Wellington)
>
> Management I was quite pleased with actually. The course I did on human relations and self-esteem in the classroom made me think hard about the tone I wanted and I went in from the word go with those expectations and that's paid off because people have commented on how well my kids work together right from the beginning and they are a really nice group of kids to work with, so that was good. I was well prepared that way, I think. I haven't had any major problems behaviour wise. (Wellington)
>
> The three years' training I had was excellent. It prepared me and I got a lot out of it, because I was more mature and knew why I was there.... Especially when you are talking to teachers who have been here for quite a while and you've got more up-to-date outlook on teaching approaches and the way children learn. I don't at all feel as though I should have done anything different when I left. (Christchurch)
>
> Planning. I think they actually over prepare you to plan. I mean, I plan a unit of work but we were always told to plan for every single maths lesson ... but I suppose by making us over plan then we do plan something rather than the other way round. (Christchurch)

Ways Beginning Teachers Were Not *Well Prepared*

A few beginning teachers from all colleges had no comments to make because they thought they had been well prepared, or at least to the extent possible prior to having a class of their own. One beginning teacher commented, 'Everything was well prepared except for how to teach on the run'. The comments of the other beginning teachers were wide ranging. The four most significant groups of comments related to:

1. Administration, assessment, and record keeping.

2. Course not sufficiently practical. The comments made here were largely by Auckland and Wellington beginning teachers. At this point in the interview, Christchurch beginning teachers did not voice similar concerns.

3. Classroom management and teaching skills.

4. Inadequate preparation in particular curriculum areas, although the number of beginning teachers from each college referring to specific subjects was rarely more than five and usually one or two.

Examples of beginning teachers' comments were:

> For the unexpected things that happen in the classroom and having flexibility in changing things if it doesn't go well the first time. When you're at college, you just expect that everything is going to work out the way you plan it the first time round, whereas there are experiences where I've tried things and they just have totally not worked and I've had to redo it. College doesn't really prepare you for those times, for unexpected situations. (Auckland)
>
> There wasn't enough emphasis on thinking off the top of your head. There was too much emphasis on things being all set up and neat and tidy, the situation as you would hope it would always be. (Auckland)
>
> I think I'm not too well prepared on the amount of work that you have to do. I mean, it's just bulk work. It's just constant work. I've never worked so hard in all my life, and if I'd known that teachers have done so much work in the past I may have thought twice about coming into this profession ... I mean I work every night. There is so much preparation. I know they try at Teachers College but you don't really know until you're in the thick of it, how much work teachers actually do. (Wellington)
>
> I think we weren't well prepared for extremely difficult children. Whether or not the college assume you will have a handpicked class, which is certainly not what happens in a smaller school. (Christchurch)
>
> Dealing with parents. I found that although I knew we would have to deal with parents, I expected that, it was just when I have parents twice my age cry on my shoulder and things like that and I had no help or anything to do with relating to them, that's a bit hard. (Christchurch)

University Study

New Zealand is unusual in training primary school teachers without requiring them to have a degree or to obtain a degree at the same time as their training. During the course of our study, moves towards making primary teaching entirely a graduate profession have advanced on a number of fronts, encouraged by government policy. Some relationships have moved faster and have developed more fully than others. The Christchurch College of Education introduced a B.Ed. programme, in association with Canterbury University, in the mid 1970s, and a large proportion of students at the Christchurch college are encouraged to enrol for the B.Ed. course. In 1990 Auckland College of Education and Auckland University introduced a B.Ed. course for which all first-year students must enrol; it is still possible however for students to graduate with a Diploma in Teaching after three years of study. Victoria University of Wellington and the Wellington College of Education introduced a B.Ed. degree in 1993; enrolment for the B.Ed. course will not be compulsory, and students will have the option of enrolling for a B.Ed., a conjoint B.A./B.Sc. degree, or the three-year Diploma.[8]

However, at the start of our study, the majority of students in the three colleges were still expected to complete their training without having obtained a degree.

The cohort of students in our study had various experiences of university study. A proportion of the cohort were already university graduates who obtained their degrees prior to entry to the colleges and undertook a shortened two-year course of training. Approximately 20% of the students in Christchurch and Wellington and 10% of those in Auckland were in this category. Students at Christchurch and Wellington enrolled for the three-year Diploma course could also enrol for a B.Ed. degree (Christchurch) or a conjoint B.A./B.Sc. degree (Wellington). In both colleges, at the satisfactory completion of four years' study, students obtained both a Bachelor's degree and a Diploma in Teaching. In our cohort 16% of Christchurch students and 18% of Wellington students completed the four-year course.

There were also students at each of the three colleges who left the college after three years with a Diploma in Teaching and a number of credits or units towards a university degree, but not a complete degree: 31% of the cohort in Auckland, 13% in Wellington, and 17% in Christchurch were in this category.[9]

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[8] See also Renwick, M. (1993) *Innovation in Teacher Education*.

[9] Seven students from Auckland stated that they intended completing their degrees by enrolling for full-time university study in the year after leaving the college of education.

With respect to the college they were attending, a widely varying proportion of students in the cohort completed the three-year college course without taking any university courses: 46% in Auckland, 26% in Wellington, and 7% in Christchurch.

Material gathered in our interviews of the sample of students from each college suggests that in the first year of our study Auckland had the smallest proportion of students enrolled in university courses - 31%; Wellington had 43% and Christchurch 62%. These figures include those undertaking the joint degree courses in Wellington and Christchurch. In their second year at college, the proportion of students taking university courses in Auckland increased to 42%, those in Wellington increased slightly to 47%, and those in Christchurch decreased to 48%. In our cohort, 35% of students in Auckland, 38% in Wellington, and 42% had completed a degree or part of a degree at the same time as completing the three-year or four-year course of training.

Most students who undertook university studies at college in their first year had already decided to do so before they entered college. In Wellington and Christchurch there was a slight tendency for the proportion of students taking university courses to drop over the course of training. In Auckland the start of a B.Ed. course in the year following the entry of our cohort was possibly a factor in the slightly increased number of students who took university courses during the course of their training.

The main motivation for almost all of the students who took university courses was the better job prospects they hoped would eventuate on completion of their training. Of the 100 beginning teachers who were interviewed as part of our study, 16 were two-year-course graduates who already had a degree. All of these students, with the exception of three who did not look for teaching jobs, secured a teaching job for the beginning of the year following their graduation from college. However, this group did not face the stiff competition for jobs faced by those students graduating the following year. Of the remaining 84 three-year-course students who were interviewed as beginning teachers, 48% had taken university courses. In comparison, the proportion of students without jobs who took university courses was 42%, not significantly different.

The Usefulness of University Courses

When we interviewed students in their second and third years at college, we asked those taking university courses whether they thought that the courses would be useful to them in the classroom. With one or two exceptions they all felt that the courses would be useful in one way or another. The majority named specific courses from which they felt they could use material directly in the classroom. Others felt that the courses were adding to their effectiveness as teachers by:

- giving them confidence in their own academic ability.
- enabling them to pick up organisational and research skills.
- providing greater self-motivation.
- making them more interesting people for the children to relate to, and
- giving them a deeper understanding of topics which may be covered in both institutions from different perspectives.

When we asked beginning teachers who had taken university courses their views of the impact of these courses on their teaching, about half of the beginning teachers who had trained in Auckland and Christchurch felt that their courses at university had had some impact on their classroom teaching; Wellington teachers were less convinced, with only six out of the 17 who had experienced university courses saying that this was the case. Teachers mentioned the direct usefulness of specific courses as wide ranging as child development, linguistics, computers in the classroom, special education, oceanography, guidance and counselling, gender issues, and educational administration. They also mentioned the departments whose courses had been most useful to them in the classrooms. These were: education, history, Maori, psychology, and sociology. Teachers were less likely to name courses that they considered had had an indirect influence on their teaching. They were more likely to comment that the experience of university had broadened their outlook on life generally or increased the value they put on learning.

An additional reason given by students for taking university courses was the added intellectual stimulation they got from such courses. At the time these students began their course, all three colleges included extending students' academic education among their objectives. The discussion in the section on college objectives shows that students did not rate the colleges very highly on their achievement of this particular objective. From our interview material, it seems that students tended to find the intellectual stimulation they were seeking from their university study. Generally, those students who were taking degree courses found them more intellectually stimulating than college courses; the assessment was more rigorous, and the assignments took longer to research and complete.

A number of students mentioned problems which arose because of the workload involved in taking on both courses. However, as we saw earlier, when all of the students were asked their opinion of the workload over the three years of the course, those who had taken university courses did not have opinions which differed from those who had not done so.

There were some differences in attitude between those students who were taking three- or four-year courses. A larger proportion (89%) of four-year students than three-year students (69%) felt that they had made the right decision to take university courses at the same time as completing their diploma.

Students Who Did Not Take University Courses

A proportion of students did not take any university courses whilst at college. They had generally decided not to do so before they arrived at college. Their main reasons in that first year were that they preferred to settle down at college first and get an idea of the workload involved in college; in addition, some students felt the distance involved in travelling to and from the university was prohibitive. A few students in those first-year interviews (14 out of 52) said that they had not taken university courses because of the extra expense involved. However, as the study progressed, the extra expense was more frequently given as a reason for not taking university courses; in the second year, 30 of the 61 not taking university courses gave it as a reason, and in the final-year questionnaire 116 of the 166 who did not take university courses (70%) said they had not done so because of the extra fees and expenses. This concurs with the worsening financial situation of students over the course of this study. Whilst the proportion of students taking university courses tailed off as the course progressed, the figures do not suggest that there were large numbers of students who gave up university study solely because of the expenses involved; however, it was increasingly perceived by those students who had not taken any university courses as a factor preventing them from doing so.

When these students were asked at the end of their course whether they were happy with the decision they had made not to take university courses, the majority (68%) were happy and would make the same decision again. A quarter felt that they had not made the right decision, and given the opportunity again would choose to take university courses.

At a time when primary teaching is moving toward being a graduate profession, it is interesting to compare the experiences of those within our cohort who took university courses and those who did not. Both groups seem equally likely to have been offered jobs, despite the fact that one of the reasons given by those who took university courses for doing so was the hope of better job prospects.

A few of those who completed a degree mentioned that this made it possible for them to be employed in secondary schools, thus widening their scope for future employment. However, only two of the 100 beginning teachers interviewed were then employed in secondary schools.

Discussion

The students' training experience varied according to which college they attended and which courses they selected within the college programme. However, we were struck by the similarity of responses from beginning teachers from the three colleges. The transcripts of our interviews of beginning teachers gave few clues to indicate where they had trained. Because we have not done a detailed study of the classroom practices of beginning teachers, nor talked systematically to children, tutor teachers, school principals, or parents, we are not in a position to pass judgment on the performance of beginning teachers, or to suggest that those from one college may be doing better or less well than another, or that there are differences in performance between those who took university courses and those who did not. Once they are out in the classroom, beginning teachers blend into the New Zealand primary school system. In describing their classroom practice, they emphasise features that are among the strengths of that system: the focus on child-centred learning; the need for regular and thorough diagnostic assessment of children; the value of an integrated approach to the primary school curriculum; the merits of co-operative planning; and the need for on-going, reflective, self-evaluation.

We did not question school principals about the performance of beginning teachers in their schools, but in one recent Auckland study where this was done (Cameron and Grudnoff, 1993) by and large principals were very satisfied with their choice of beginning teachers. The writers comment that the principals think beginning teachers' personal qualities tend to be better developed than their professional skills, and that preservice courses need to prepare students better for 'the complexities of teaching'. This would certainly be the view of the beginning teachers in our sample, but the beginning teachers themselves also commented that no preservice course can completely prepare teachers for the classroom. It is not until beginning teachers are placed within a school, with responsibility for a particular class of children, that they can develop and refine the skills to which they have been introduced during the course of their training.

In a second study in Wellington (Shaw, 1992), almost all the principals interviewed commented on the improved standards of training in recent years. Graduates were described as demonstrating high levels of adaptability, flexibility, and initiative (p. 17). However, principals were concerned about how well the college programme had managed to integrate theory and practice - a view also shared by students and beginning teachers. One consequence was that some beginning teachers had initial problems with planning and classroom management.

Both the Auckland and Wellington studies were initiated by the colleges, in line with their on-going concern to monitor the performance of their graduates, as part of the college's accountability mechanisms.

The Importance of Individual Lecturers

Most students judged their college experience on the basis of individual departments and lecturers. This study was concerned with students' views. We acknowledged in earlier reports that the relationship between students and staff was an interactive process, not a one-way street. Constraints of time and money meant that we were unable to gather much data from staff about their views of our student cohort, but in report-back sessions with some staff we had glimpses of some of the constraints under which they perceived themselves to be working. These included, for example:

- Working within time constraints for courses which they considered to be too short for the content which ideally should be covered.
- Having to work to a brief prepared by more senior members of staff. This was particularly the case with contract staff, who were not in a position to 'rock the boat' because they saw their on-going employment as being in the hands of permanent staff.
- Frustration that there were insufficient associate teachers in the classrooms practising the methods the staff were advocating to students.
- Lack of co-ordination within the college, so that particular departments believed they were 'carrying the can' for some concerns, for example, the college's commitment to equity and Treaty of Waitangi issues.

Many student criticisms confirmed problems of which staff were aware. Nor were the solutions always straightforward. Teacher education is a complex process, with many forces interacting at any given time. It would be an error to suggest there are 'quick fixes' to concerns in teacher education, on the basis of students' comments. On the other hand, students tended to judge the college and their training to be teachers largely on the basis of personal contact with individual lecturers and their courses. The effectiveness of these interactions was very much something that lecturers did control.

Lecturer Accountability and Appraisal

Lecturer accountability was raised by students during each year of the study, with heightened emphasis as students' fees increased and students were demanding value for money. At the time of the study, student evaluation of courses was widespread, but to the best of our knowledge there were no formal mechanisms for staff appraisal in any of the three colleges.

This situation is changing. In the past, autonomy and academic freedom of lecturers have been stumbling blocks to developing staff appraisal systems acceptable to all. The development of staff appraisal mechanisms needs to be seen in the context of moves towards more stringent assessment measures in the wider educational community. Such moves do not necessarily indicate that the present performance of lecturers is deficient. Effective staff appraisal systems, particularly if they are linked to staff development, should not be regarded as threats to staff autonomy but rather the reverse. If the outcome is to be improved staff performance, this should increase staff autonomy and the professional and personal satisfaction lecturers derive from their job. Professional development must be lifelong for staff as well as students. If some staff have been reluctant to acknowledge the need for regular appraisal, all have been aware of the difficulties of devising systems which are fair, constructive, not too demanding to administer in terms of time and cost, and which do not degenerate into just another administrative task with little obvious impact on the quality of teaching.

Auckland and Wellington colleges are making a concerted effort to develop systematic schemes of staff appraisal. In Auckland, each department was required to have its own procedure for staff appraisal in place by the end of 1992. Staff appraisal will be linked to peer appraisal, but not to monetary reward. Staff within departments may decide collectively on a set of skills where improvement is considered desirable; these will later be used for staff appraisal and development. Regular and systematic student evaluation of all courses through the use of an agreed-upon student questionnaire would be another possibility. Under the Auckland model, various departments may come up with different approaches for staff appraisal and development.

In Wellington, college-wide procedures are being developed. All staff will be involved in the scheme and will be 'subject to an internal audit of those parts of their jobs which impinge directly on the College's ability to monitor the quantity, quality, timeliness, and costs of its outputs'.[0] All departments will be required to consider ways of improving the quality of their contribution to the outputs of the college. The teaching performance, specialist knowledge, and contribution of individual staff will be considered in order to arrange for appropriate staff development. The policy for both appraisal and development focuses on individual peformance and also on team performance, for which staff have a collective responsibility.

Christchurch also acknowledges that staff appraisal is an essential component of quality control. A thorough but time-consuming staff appraisal system, starting with the principal and senior management, is being set in place. A similar system is planned for all staff, who are at present involved in voluntary peer appraisal.

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[0] Wellington College of Education (1992) Draft policy statement on "Academic Staff Personnel Appraisal and Development."

Staff believe that the appointment of more staff on limited-term contracts has had an invigorating effect on college staff and students. In Christchurch, there have been many staff changes in the last two to three years, resulting in an increasing number of young, active staff - particularly women - who combine recent classroom experience with high academic qualifications.

Colleges of Education as Tertiary Institutions

There appears to be an awkward 'join' between students' earlier experience as senior secondary students and their first contact with a tertiary institution. All three colleges included in their aims a commitment to developing the intellect of students. However, in each year of our interviews there were always some students who said they found that their courses lacked intellectual challenge. Those students taking university courses alongside their training invariably found the college less intellectually stimulating and demanding. Many school leavers considered their college courses less intellectually demanding than those they had experienced at secondary school.

There may be an inherent conflict in the fact that students expect to be intellectually challenged, but also want courses that are practically based in terms of their future as primary classroom teachers. Furthermore, limited intellectual challenge does not always mean students were dissatisfied. A number of those who attended university as well as college said that they enjoyed the balance between the two. They enjoyed the more practical nature of the college course, and the fact that by and large it was more geared towards their chosen vocation of teaching. They also valued being part of a group of students all preparing for the same career.

A second cause of tension may relate to the problems of applying subjects studied at a higher level to young children in primary schools, particularly if the view is held that you can only make a teacher out of a well-educated adult, and that in order to raise the standard of teaching in primary schools, it is necessary to raise the level of specialist subject study among trainees.

Despite any criticism students may have had of the college programme, by the end of their course most were as motivated or more motivated to teach than when they began the course and most felt well prepared for the classroom.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

New Zealand primary teachers are required to follow the guidelines set down for the subjects that together comprise the formal curriculum. At the time of our study the colleges offered courses designed to prepare students to work with children in the various curriculum areas described as: oral language, written language, reading, mathematics, science, social studies, music, drama, art, physical education, health, education outside the classroom, Maori culture and language, and computers in the classroom.

During the course of our study there was renewed interest in the curriculum through the publishing of the Government's discussion document on *The National Curriculum of New Zealand* (1991). Since then *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (1993) has been published, setting out the foundation policy for learning and assessment in schools. National curriculum statements have been or are being prepared in the 'essential learning areas' of language and languages, mathematics, science, technology, and the social sciences. Parallel developments in te reo Maori are also underway.

It is clearly important that all beginning teachers take up their first appointment confident that they are well prepared to teach the primary school curriculum. Before the students entered the three colleges, and at the end of their training, we asked them which three curriculum areas they were *most* and *least* looking forward to teaching; we questioned students about the frequency with which they had seen the various subjects taught and about their views on, and experience of, an integrated curriculum; and each year we asked those interviewed to comment on their college courses by subject. Students also referred to the primary school curriculum in answer to other questions, for example, their perceived weaknesses after six months at college; areas where their confidence had increased by their second year; and skills they had developed on teaching practice sections. We also asked beginning teachers how well they thought their classroom programme in each curriculum area was running.

Curriculum Areas Most and Least Looked Forward To

Tables 7 and 8 summarise the students' responses at the beginning and end of their training to the two questions we asked about the curriculum areas they were *most* and *least* looking forward to teaching.

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[11] As a number of students left the college during the three years (see also p. 9), the numbers responding at the end of training were fewer than on entry. The groups of students surveyed at the end of their training differed in one other important respect from those surveyed when they entered college in 1989. The first group included 89 two-year graduate students. These students were not surveyed when they left the college in 1990. Tables 7 and 8 include the combined responses of 289 three-year students surveyed at the end of 1991, and 36 four-year students at the end of 1992.

Education outside the classroom (EOTC) was not included in the question when it was asked of students entering the college. The wording of two curriculum areas was changed slightly between the two surveys, but we do not believe this will have materially altered the results. On entry to college the label 'Maori culture/language' was used, compared with simply 'Maori' at the end of the course. Similarly, 'computer studies' was used on entry to college, compared with 'computers in the classroom' at the end of training.

Curriculum Areas Most Looked Forward To: Ranked

	On entry to college % of students (N=549)		At end of training % of students (N=325)
Physical education	46	Reading	52
Reading	39	Physical education	51
Social studies	35	Art	46
Art	33	Written language	45
Written language	29	Education outside the classroom	39
Drama	27	Mathematics	38
Maori cultural/language	24	Science	34
Mathematics	24	Social studies	35
Music	24	Music	34
Oral language	21	Oral language	34
Science	20	Health	25
Health	16	Drama	23
Computer studies	13	Maori	23
		Computers in the classroom	18

Table 8

Curriculum Areas Least Looked Forward To: Ranked

	On entry to college % of students (N=549)		At end of training % of students (N=325)
Mathematics	35	Computers in the classroom	42
Computer studies	35	Maori	40
Science	27	Music	35
Music	21	Drama	31
Drama	19	Mathematics	24
Maori culture/language	19	Science	20
Art	16	Social studies	15
Physical education	12	Health	14
Health	10	Art	10
Social studies	9	Physical education	9
Written language	8	Reading	8
Oral language	6	Education outside the classroom	7
Reading	4	Oral language	5
		Written language	5

Students were given the opportunity to list up to three curriculum areas in each instance. Students may well have looked forward to teaching more than three curriculum areas; the reverse was also true. There was, however, a tendency for students both on entry and at the end of training to list three curriculum areas which they were *most* looking forward to teaching and only one or two they were *least* looking forward to teaching. The curriculum areas have been ranked according to the percentage of students who said they were either looking forward to teaching, or *not* looking forward to teaching, a particular subject. However, the responses tended to cluster around groups of subjects and the differences in responses within these groupings were often not great.

There was a tendency for subjects low on the list of most looked forward to options to be high on the list of least looked forward to options (for example, computers in the classroom), but the two lists were not mirror images of each other. Music was an example of a subject which almost the same number of students both on entry and at the end of training said they were either looking forward or *not* looking forward to teaching.

On entry to college, analysis by particular groups of students indicated that:

- School leavers were significantly more likely than mature students to be looking forward to teaching physical education (38% cf. 52%, $\chi^2 = 9.76$, df = 1, p = .002).
- Male students compared with female were more likely to be looking forward to teaching science (35% cf. 17%, $\chi^2 = 15.35$, df = 1, p = .00008) and physical education (61% cf. 42%, $\chi^2 = 11.59$, df = 1, p = .0006) and least likely to be looking forward to teaching music (34% cf. 18%, $\chi^2 = 11.55$, df = 1, p = .0006). Female students were more likely than males to be looking forward to teaching reading (42% cf. 27%, $\chi^2 = 7.11$, df = 1, p = .007).
- Maori and Pacific Island students were much more likely to be looking forward to teaching Maori language and culture than Pakeha students (73% cf. 16%, $\chi^2 = 70.41$, df = 1, p = $< 10^{-6}$). Conversely, Pakeha students were likely to say they were least looking forward to teaching in this area (21% cf. 2%, $\chi^2 = 7.31$, df = 1, p = .006).

At the end of training there were some variations by college, but the only subject which proved to be statistically significant was the teaching of reading. Proportionately more Christchurch students than those at Auckland or Wellington said they were looking forward to teaching the subject ($\chi^2 = 12.302$, df = 2, p = .002). There were also some gender differences; male students were looking forward to teaching science and computers more than female students ($\chi^2 = 4.191$, df = 1, p = .041 and $\chi^2 = 6.153$, df = 1, p =

0.13 respectively).[2] (Care needs to be taken in comparing gender differences on entry and at the end of training because of the different composition of the two groups of students.)

Student Attitudes at the End of Training Compared With on Entry to College

The preferences shown in Tables 7 and 8 were group preferences. The overall figures may well mask individual changes in preferences. For example, even though individual students may have ticked social studies at the beginning of their course and not at the end, the proportions in each group ticking social studies remained the same.

Curriculum areas *most* looked forward to:

- Reading and physical education were the two curriculum areas most frequently mentioned by students entering college as being those they were *most* looking forward to teaching. These remained the same.
- The same was true for the subject at the bottom of the *most* looked-forward-to list - computers in the classroom.
- With three exceptions, the percentage of students at the end of training saying they were looking forward to teaching each of the particular curriculum areas listed was higher for all subjects than at entry to college. The exceptions were social studies where the percentage of students remained the same, and Maori and drama where the differences were minimal.
- The subjects which the highest proportion of students at the end of their training said they were now looking forward to teaching, compared with their views on entry to college, were: written language (an increase of 16% of students), science, and mathematics (14%), reading, art, and oral language (13%).
- It has already been mentioned that education outside the classroom (EOTC) was not listed as a subject for students entering college. At the end of training, relatively high proportion of students (39%) listed this as one of the three subjects they were now most looking forward to teaching. If this percentage is considered along with the high proportion (51%) who listed physical education as a favoured subject, it is clear that many students were looking forward to taking physical activities with children. (The

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[2] Chi-squared results relate to the 289 three-year students only. The four-year students gave similar responses to the final questionnaire to those of the three-year students. However, the fact that four-year students were at only two of the colleges could have been a confounding factor if included with the data from the three-year students for the purpose of calculating chi-squares.

two percentages were not mutually exclusive: students who referred to one subject frequently also referred to the other.)

Curriculum areas *least* looked forward to teaching:

- The rankings of curriculum areas which final-year students said they were *least* looking forward to teaching changed considerably over time. So, too, did the percentage of students referring to particular subjects.
- Computers in the classroom remained as one of the 'top' two subjects, and oral language remained one of the 'bottom' two.
- The three language areas - written language, oral language, and reading - were three of those subjects where the percentages changed very little. Fewer than 10% of students now said they were *least* looking forward to teaching in these areas.
- In six curriculum areas, the percentage of students now saying they were *least* looking forward to teaching the subjects in the classroom was less than on entry to college, although in most cases the differences were not great. The most marked was mathematics. On entering college more than a third of the students (35%) said they were *least* looking forward to teaching the subject, but at the end of their training fewer than a quarter (24%) said this was the case. There was also some movement in student attitudes towards science teaching: 27% said they were *least* looking forward to teaching the subject on entry to college compared with 20% at the end of the college course.
- In seven curriculum areas the percentage of students who said they were *least* looking forward to teaching a particular area had actually increased since entry to college. This was most marked for Maori, with an increase of nearly a quarter of the students (21%). Forty percent of students now said they were *least* looking forward to teaching Maori, compared with 19% on entry to college.

Four-year Students

At the end of training the data for those Wellington and Christchurch students who took the four-year course of training were also analysed separately from that of the three-year students.

When the preferences the three-year students gave at the end of the course were compared with their preferences on entry, the percentage of students saying they were looking forward to teaching each of the particular curriculum areas was higher for all subjects except social studies and drama. This was not the case for the four-year students. The proportion of four-year students who said they were *most* looking forward to each of the curriculum areas decreased at the end of their course, with the exception of mathematics, music, and art.

The pattern for the curriculum areas *least* looked forward to was less clear. When students' views at the start and at the end of the course were compared, the proportion of students *not* looking forward to teaching some subjects increased, while others decreased. The most marked change was in mathematics. On entering college more than a third of the four-year students (35%) said they were *least* looking forward to teaching the subject, but at the end of their training only 3% said this was the case ($\chi^2 = 7.722$, df = 1, $p = .005$).

Students' Experience of Teaching Various Curriculum Subjects

At the end of their training we asked the students how often they had seen the various curriculum areas taught in schools while they were in college and how often they had had the chance to teach children the various curriculum areas. Tables 9 and 10 summarise their responses.

Table 9

Curriculum Areas Students Have Seen Taught in Schools

	Percentage of students (N = 325)			
Curriculum Areas	Frequently	Regularly	Seldom	Never
Reading	77	17	4	1
Mathematics	75	18	5	1
Written language	70	21	6	2
Oral language	46	28	17	6
Physical education	42	43	13	2
Art	19	44	29	6
Social studies	14	37	38	9
Science	12	29	48	10
Music	9	38	47	4
Health	8	27	47	17
Education outside the classroom	3	15	43	37
Drama	3	8	53	36
Computers in the classroom	3	12	50	35
Maori	3	14	52	30

Table 10

Curriculum Areas Students Have Had a Chance To Teach in Schools

Curriculum Areas	Percentage of students (N = 325)			
	Frequently	Regularly	Seldom	Never
Reading	66	26	8	0
Mathematics	59	26	14	0
Written language	50	28	16	5
Physical education	42	31	22	3
Oral language	35	28	27	9
Art	26	36	30	7
Science	16	31	38	14
Music	15	27	45	13
Social studies	12	34	38	16
Health	10	22	45	23
Education outside the classroom	7	17	37	37
Drama	5	13	46	35
Maori	6	9	47	37
Computers in the classroom	1	6	29	62

- There was a clear connection (not necessarily causal) between the frequency with which students had seen various subjects taught and their experience of teaching them. The five subjects most frequently seen taught in classrooms were also those the students were most likely to have taught. The same was true for the subjects students said they had 'never' seen or taught.
- The subjects students had most frequently seen taught and had taught themselves were reading, mathematics, and written language, followed by oral language and physical education. If the two categories 'frequently' and 'regularly' were combined, the same pattern emerged, although oral language and physical education were reversed in order of priority, and art was added to the list of subjects students had been able to teach frequently or regularly.
- The subjects students most frequently said they had 'never' seen taught or taught themselves were computers in the classroom, education outside the classroom, drama, and Maori, followed by health, science, and social studies. If the two categories 'seldom' and 'never' were combined, the same pattern emerged, although music was now added ahead of social studies as one subject students had seldom or never seen taught.

- There were eight curriculum areas where more than half of the students said they had 'seldom' or 'never' had a chance to teach. These were: computers (91%), Maori (84%), drama (81%), EOTC (74%), health (68%), music (58%), social studies (54%), and science (52%).
- The responses of the three- and four-year students to any of these questions were not significantly different, with the exception of two curriculum areas, education outside the classroom, and music. A higher proportion of four-year than three-year students said that they were seldom given the opportunity to teach education outside the classroom whilst at college (four-year 61%, three-year 34%, $\chi^2 = 10.170$, df = 1, $p = .002$). This may go some way to explaining why education outside the classroom was one of the curriculum areas ticked by a significantly smaller proportion of four-year students as an area *most* looked forward to. Music was the other area where the experience of the two groups seemed to be significantly different, with 15% of three-year students saying they had never had the chance to teach music, compared with the four-year students, all of whom said they had been given the opportunity to teach music. However, this difference was not reflected in the extent to which the two groups were looking forward to teaching the subject.
- A student's own skills in a particular subject, for example Maori or music, influenced his or her likelihood of having had experience in teaching it, although we cannot quantify this fact.

When we interviewed students in their third year, a few described situations where they were perceived to be better informed in some subjects than their associate teacher, and were asked to introduce studies into the classroom programme.

> I've had to teach Maori in every school, and implement the Maori programme. In my first section I ended up starting a culture group and getting Maori in the classroom and now I've got a letter from the principal, to say that they are now going to implement it in the school programme thanks to my initiatives which was really great to go on my CV. (Auckland)

> I've had to initiate all the science I've ever taken. At only one school was I lucky because I saw science. The science adviser for the school happened to be my associate. Music is another subject which is very poor - nobody ever sees it on section. You're lucky if you get anything more than singing. One section I had a recorder programme in place and that was okay but there wasn't much else. (Auckland)

Students' Knowledge of Curriculum Content

We also asked students at the end of their training how confident they were that they had an adequate knowledge of the content of various primary school curriculum areas. Their responses are summarised in Table 11.

Table 11

Students' Knowledge of Curriculum Content

Curriculum Areas	Very confident	Confident	Not at all confident
	Percentage of students (N = 325)		
Language	49	49	2
Physical education	49	47	5
Mathematics	42	53	6
Art	38	50	10
Social Studies	31	58	11
Science	30	56	13
Health	24	65	11
Music	22	47	30
Maori	13	40	46

- Students were most confident about their knowledge of language, physical education, and mathematics, followed by art.
- Conversely, students were least confident about their knowledge of music and Maori.
- When the two categories 'very confident' and 'confident' were combined
  - more than 90% of students over all said they were confident in language, mathematics, and physical education,
  - between 80% and 90% were confident in health, art, science, and social studies, and
  - students were markedly less confident about music (69%) and Maori (53%).

The fact that most final-year students were confident or ~~very confident~~ in their knowledge of primary school curriculum content was later supported by the views of beginning teachers. When they were asked how they thought they had been prepared for the classroom, beginning teachers commonly referred to their preparation to cope with the various subjects of the curriculum, including content and strategies for teaching.[3]

Comparisons between colleges:

- With more than 90% of students saying they were confident in several subjects, there was obviously not much room for differences between colleges. However, in Wellington and Christchurch there were curriculum areas where *all* students said they were confident: language in both colleges, social studies in Wellington, and physical education in Christchurch.
- In Maori, there were significant differences between colleges. Wellington students (59%) were more likely than those in Auckland (32%) and Christchurch (38%) to say they were 'confident' that they had an adequate knowledge of curriculum content (χ^2 = 13.063, df = 2, p = .001), and less likely to say that they were 'not at all confident' (χ^2 = 16.466, df = 2, p = 0).
- Wellington students were less likely than those at Auckland and Christchurch to say they were 'very confident' about art (Wellington 16%, Auckland 44%, and Christchurch 40%, χ^2 = 14.580, df = 2, p = .001). On the other hand, Wellington students were more likely to describe themselves as 'confident' (Wellington 71%, Christchurch 55%, and Auckland 44%, χ^2 = 13.721, df = 2, p = .001).
- In science, fewer Wellington than Auckland and Christchurch students said they were 'not at all confident' (Wellington 5%, Christchurch 9%, and Auckland 17%, χ^2 = 6.493, df = 2, p = .039).
- In social studies a higher proportion of students in Wellington than in Auckland and Christchurch said they were 'confident' (Wellington 71%, Auckland 55%, and Christchurch 49%, χ^2 = 5.992, df = 2, p = .05). However, those figures need to be seen alongside the percentage of students in each college who saw themselves as 'very confident' (Auckland 29%, Wellington 29%, and Christchurch 43%).

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[3] It is interesting to note that when Wellington school principals commented on the effectiveness of their beginning teachers (Shaw, 1992) only a few were concerned about curriculum issues. Where there was concern it was most likely to be about mathematics. It is also interesting to note as a point of comparison with the students in our study, that in a recent Australian study quoted in Batten (1991) which looked at the preservice education experiences of nearly 3,000 primary and secondary teachers, at least half of the primary teachers felt their training had 'inadequately prepared them to handle the content component of that teaching'. Only 44% felt they had been adequately prepared in all subjects.

The Curriculum Areas in the Classroom: The Beginning Teachers

When we interviewed the 100 beginning teachers in our sample, we asked them to focus on each area of the primary school curriculum and to comment on the ones they felt they were handling well, and those they thought were not going so well. Where beginning teachers were having problems, we asked them why they thought this was so. We are talking here of teachers' perceptions of how well they believed they coped in each of the curriculum areas during their first year. We have no measure of what others - adults and children - might think; no way of measuring one teacher's performance against another; and no measure of pupil progress.

Our impression was that beginning teachers set themselves high standards and, in some cases, expected to achieve more than might reasonably be expected of teachers in their first year. Some were more critical of themselves than others. One teacher, for example, who said she was 'having a real struggle with language', went on to say that her problem was that she had constantly to try and think of new ideas to make language experiences more realistic for children, thus indicating a professional approach to her teaching. Comments such as this made it impossible to quantify the beginning teachers' views as to how well they were handling particular curriculum areas. Another difficulty in attempting to quantify their responses was the degree of co-operative teaching in primary schools. Beginning teachers may be involved in syndicate planning, team teaching, or have some specialist responsibilities. These factors can influence what topics are taken within a subject, for example, science and social studies; whether or not individual teachers take a subject, for example, music; and how well a teacher believes a subject is handled, for example, Maori. Some curriculum areas, such as education outside the classroom, may be handled through a total school activity such as a school camp. Finally, if beginning teachers were attempting to run an integrated programme in their classroom, it was not always appropriate to single out individual subjects for comment.

Issues raised across curriculum areas, which could influence how well beginning teachers thought they were handling each subject, are listed below:

- The importance of school policy with regard to particular subjects and how they should be taught, particularly where a school favoured a more formal or structured approach than that advocated by the college.
- The resources available in a school, for example, art materials and computers.
- The set books or texts favoured by a school.

- Classroom control - some subjects pose greater control problems than others, for example, art, music, and physical education.
- The attitude of parents to particular subjects, for example, the place of Maori in the school curriculum.
- The priority of a subject in a classroom programme - this often led beginning teachers to give more priority to 'the three Rs', which explained the neglect of other areas, for example, drama.
- The confidence of beginning teachers, along with their personal skills and interests.
- The composition of the class, including age and ability range; ethnic mix; and children for whom English is a second language.
- Whether or not beginning teachers were teaching at their preferred level of the school.
- The importance of the assistance a beginning teacher received from colleagues at the school, for example, in setting up reading programmes.
- The importance of beginning teachers having good organisational and management skills, for example, in establishing reading groups.
- College preparation - beginning teachers who had 'majored' in a subject at college were usually confident in that area in the classroom. A minority of beginning teachers referred to lack of college preparation in some areas, for example, computers in the classroom, or for pupils at a particular level within a subject, for example, either Beginning School Mathematics (BSM) or new growth in mathematics. A few also thought they had not been well prepared because some compulsory courses were not long enough or there was a lack of awareness at college of resources commonly used in schools, for example, 'Upbeat', for music.

Detailed comments by college were reported in the Phase 4 report of this study.[14] What follows here is the reaction of beginning teachers trained in Wellington, as an example of how one group of beginning teachers felt they were coping with the various curriculum areas in the classroom.

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[14] See Renwick, M. and Vize, J. (1993) *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 4, The First Year in the Classroom* p. 96.

The comments made by beginning teachers about their confidence in teaching the various curriculum areas suggested that these areas could be arranged in three main groupings:

1.

Reading
Written language
Oral language
Physical education
Art

2.

Social studies
Health
Mathematics
Education outside the classroom
Science

3.

Music
Drama
Maori
Computers in the classroom

For the first block of subjects, between 80% and 90% of the beginning teachers thought they were coping well; for the second block, between about 70% and 75% did so; and for the third block about a third stated that they were having difficulties. It is interesting to note that the rankings of the curriculum areas were remarkably consistent with the rankings derived from the beginning teachers' responses when, as final-year students, they had been asked which curriculum areas they were *most* or *least* looking forward to teaching, and with the opportunities they had had on teaching practice sections to observe and teach the subjects.

An Integrated Curriculum

In answering the question about individual curriculum areas, a number of beginning teachers mentioned that they tried to integrate their programme across curriculum areas, an approach favoured during training. Regardless of their experience of observing or teaching such programmes as students, when they left the college nearly all students (96%) had said they were either 'very confident' (42%) or 'confident' (54%) about running an integrated programme in their own classroom. One beginning teacher commented:

> Well, you can't really sort of separate them but it's nice to have them separated here [on the interview sheet] but it doesn't really work out. Like reading involves oral language as well as your reading and written language and drama and art, so it's not broken down like that any way.... The only one that would be separated in reality would be physical education. You can't combine that with anything. (Christchurch)

When asked specifically whether or not they ran an integrated programme in the class, most beginning teachers said they favoured an integrated approach to teaching although not all had achieved as much integration of curriculum areas as they wished. It was common for beginning teachers to say that they had started the year by keeping the various curriculum areas separate but had moved towards a more integrated approach as their confidence increased.

Teachers also commented on:

- The importance of co-operative planning with other staff, particularly when teaching in an open plan situation.
- The importance of working together on syndicate or school-based integrated curriculum plans.
- The complexity of teaching an integrated programme using learning centres and the need to encourage children to see linkages between subjects. The teacher has to be alert to the skills children need to learn, and be able to monitor progress.

Those who described how their programme was integrated tended to refer to:

- Whole language programmes where oral language, written language, and reading were integrated.
- Integration around a centre of interest, unit studies, or focus studies. Topics studied in these cases tended to be selected from social studies, science, and health and usually became the focus for language and reading, but examples

were also given when music, mathematics, art, and physical education were included.

- Mathematics with language, particularly BSM which is language-based.
- Art and drama which are integrated with whole language programmes.
- One or two beginning teachers referred to their attempts to make sure Maori language and culture were integrated into all curriculum areas.

Where teachers had tried to integrate the curriculum, it had usually worked well. Those pleased with the progress they had made said they thought it made the programme more meaningful for children and allowed them to cover more in the time. They also commented on the fact that they did not have to plan in such detail as previously to ensure an integrated programme but could do more by 'ad-libbing'. Many of the teachers gave the impression that integrating the curriculum was a natural, preferred way of working, which they would use more if they were not constrained by some of the factors mentioned below.

Those beginning teachers who gave reasons for not running an integrated programme, or for limited integration of curriculum areas, referred to the following issues:

- It was easier to integrate some subjects than others; two of the most difficult were mathematics and physical education. For most, getting a successful, stand-alone mathematics programme up and running was a sufficient achievement without trying to integrate it with other subjects.
- The range of abilities and ages in the classroom.
- Limitations to integrating the curriculum associated with cross-groupings of children from other classes for various subjects, usually within a syndicate. The most common occasions were for mathematics and reading.
- 'Multi-level' approaches within the school, for example, ability groupings in the senior school.
- Limitations imposed by school timetables.

- The difficulty of finding reading material, particularly for young children, at the right level related to unit studies.

- A beginning teacher with a strength in a particular area, for example, music, had a strong, independent programme going and wanted to keep it that way. However, one teacher with a strength in music said she integrated music with all curriculum areas.

- The rest of the school did not run integrated programmes; or beginning teachers could not integrate across the curriculum because the topics they were to cover were set by the school or syndicate.

- Release time interrupted the daily timetable.

- Teachers working as paired teachers found it difficult to run an integrated programme.

- If a beginning teacher had taken over a class part way into the year, the timetable the previous teacher operated had to be kept.

- It was not possible in a secondary school.

Discussion

The 'Three Rs'

The number of contexts in which the 'three Rs' were referred to by students, and later by beginning teachers, affirms their view of the centrality of language skills and mathematics in the primary school curriculum. When we asked students at the end of training how often they had seen the various curriculum areas taught, reading, mathematics, and written language headed the list, with about three-quarters of the students saying they had seen them taught 'frequently' (*see* also Table 9). The same three subjects headed the list of those subjects students said they were most confident to teach.[5] Reading and written language (but not mathematics) were two of the three subjects the highest proportion of students were *most* looking forward to teaching at the end of their training (*see* also Table 7) Reading and mathematics also headed the list of those courses students considered to be 'most useful' in all three colleges in the second year of training. It was also clear from the comments of most beginning teachers that they had focused on getting their reading, language, and mathematics programmes up and running ahead of other subjects, for example, art and drama.

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[5] In a recent British study (HMI 1993) 25% of beginning primary school teachers felt inadequately prepared to teach reading. A survey carried out by the National Foundation for Educational Research and reported in the *Times Educational Supplement* of 10 July 1992 claimed that only one third of trainee teachers felt confident that they could teach reading by the end of their initial training course.

Written language, oral language, and reading are frequently linked together as 'whole language'. Oral language as such was rarely singled out for comment by students during training; however, when we asked students six months into their college course if they thought they had specific weaknesses with which they needed help, a number referred to personal skills including the ability to talk in front of others. When we reported on our first-year student interviews, we commented that judging by the quality of some of the tape transcripts the lack of confidence some students expressed about speaking in front of others was probably well founded. A minority of students were similarly inarticulate at the end of their training.[16]

Even allowing for the differences between written and spoken language, on the basis of our interviews we estimate that at least 5% of beginning teachers would not provide good speech models for young children. During their training students did not make any comments about assistance with their own oral language. Nor did they make much mention of guidance for working with children in terms of their oral language development. Once in the classroom, a few beginning teachers spoke of lack of guidance at college and isolated various problems, including difficulty in evaluating children's speech and not knowing how to improve children's speech (for example, poor grammatical construction); but most of those we interviewed tended to pass over the topic or suggest that it was covered in their 'whole language' programme. When oral language was referred to, it was often in the context of teaching children for whom English was a second language.

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[16] There are, of course, differences between written and spoken language. Crystal (1987) points out some of the distinguishing features of spoken language compared with the more permanent writing: '... the spontaneity and rapidity of speech minimises the chance of complex preplanning, and promotes features that assist speakers to "think standing up" - looser constructions, repetition, filler phrases (such as *you know, you see*), and the use of intonation and pause to divide utterances into manageable chunks' (p. 179).

As he goes on to say, the differences between spoken and written language are immediately apparent 'if a stretch of speech is tape recorded and transcribed. The fact that in an interview situation the participants can see each other means that gestures and facial expressions also contribute to meaning. Tape transcripts reveal incomplete utterances, or simply tail off into silence - after all the interviewer always has the chance to probe further or ask for clarification. Even a fluent speaker produces utterances that do not read well when written down'.

Emphasis on Physical Education

When we considered the curriculum areas students were *most* or *least* looking forward to on entry to college and at the end of their training, we noted the high proportion of students - particularly males and school leavers - looking forward to teaching physical education. The enthusiasm for physical education presumably reflects both the place of sport in our society and an increasing emphasis on the need for physical exercise, as reflected in the current burgeoning of gyms and aerobic classes. It is also a subject considered by students to be well taught in the colleges. In Auckland, for example, when students commented about their second-year courses, they were almost invariably positive, referring to the quality and enthusiasm of the lecturers, the relevance of the courses for the classroom, and the high standard of work expected. Most children enjoy physical activity, and physical education provides a welcome break outside the classroom, no doubt contributing to teachers' enthusiasm for this subject, although a few beginning teachers regarded physical education as one of the subjects where they were most likely to have control problems.[17]

Recurring References to Some Subjects

From the time they entered college and throughout their training, three curriculum areas were referred to as problem areas by students more often than other subjects. These were: mathematics, Maori culture and language, and computer studies. On entry to college two of these, mathematics and computer studies, headed the list of those subjects which students were *least* looking forward to teaching (35% of students in each case). At that time they were also the three subjects students were most likely to say they thought they were going to need special help with while at college (mathematics 23% of students; Maori culture and language 21%; computer studies 18%). Six months into the college course, mathematics headed the list of those subjects which students listed as a 'specific weakness' for which they needed help. The same was true a year later, although mathematics was also a subject where students were likely to say their confidence had increased.

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[17] The students' enthusiasm for physical education certainly confirms the emphasis on personal fitness in *The National Curriculum of New Zealand : a discussion document* (1991) which links physical and personal development, including self-discipline and healthy lifestyles, along with the merits of team work and healthy competition (pp. 14-15). Anecdotal evidence also suggests that school leavers who are active in sports are often attracted to teaching as a career. When they are interviewed they tend to do well because they frequently have extensive community involvement in sports coaching of young people.

From this point on mathematics tended to move out of the 'problem' area for most students. By the end of training 75% of students said they had 'frequently' seen mathematics taught in primary schools; 85% had 'regularly' or 'frequently' had a chance to teach the subject; and 95% were either 'confident' or 'very confident' to teach it. From being the subject which the highest percentage of students were *least* looking forward to teaching on entry, it dropped to fifth place among the subjects about which they were apprehensive.

Computing in the classroom and Maori, on the other hand, show a different picture. At the end of training, they were both bottom of the list of curriculum areas students had seen taught in schools, or had had a chance to teach themselves, and they headed the list of subjects students were *least* looking forward to teaching. The percentage of students saying they were *least* looking forward to teaching Maori increased from 19% on entry to 40% at the end of their training. Maori was also the curriculum area where students were most likely to say they were 'not at all confident' about the curriculum content - nearly half of the students (46%) saying this was the case. With regard to using computers to assist children's learning in the classroom, the same percentage (46%) said they were 'not at all confident'. However, there were marked differences by college (Christchurch 30%, Auckland 48%, Wellington 57%, $\chi^2 = 6.811$, df = 2, p = .033). Christchurch students were considerably more likely than those in Auckland and Wellington to describe themselves as '*very* confident' to use computers to assist children's learning in the classroom (Christchurch 35%, Auckland 16%, Wellington 4%, $\chi^2 = 16.541$, df = 2, p = 0).

We accept that there are limitations to our data because of the way we collected information from students about their attitudes towards, and experience of, the various areas of the curriculum. Asking students to respond to a list of 'subjects', for example, suggests a comparability between various aspects of the curriculum that is not valid. The two most obvious examples are computers in the classroom and Maori. Computer studies is not taught as a 'subject' in most primary schools, particularly at the junior school level; rather, computers are a tool teachers may use to enhance their teaching in various curriculum areas, although teachers may also assist children to develop computer skills. While Maori as a language may be taught in primary classes, the broader concept of taha Maori is one which 'should permeate the whole of school life and include aspects of Maori language and culture'.[8] Taha Maori is not a separate subject to be taught in the way that mathematics might be. However, given the limitations of our data, it is still clear that many students who lacked confidence in both these aspects of the primary school curriculum left college similarly lacking in confidence, and for some this lack of confidence had actually increased.

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[8] Learning Media (1990) *Tihe Mauri Ora! Maori language junior classes to form 2*, syllabus for schools Ministry of Education, p. 12.

When we asked Auckland students at the end of their training if there were any optional college courses which should have been compulsory, two clearly stood out: computer courses (49 students), and more mathematics courses (46 students). In both cases, the numbers represent about a quarter of the students who completed a questionnaire. When the same students were asked if there were any courses they regretted not having taken, the curriculum area which stood out most clearly was computers in education, mentioned by 45 students. Extra mathematics courses were mentioned by 25 students. No students referred to courses in Maori, although as we shall see later, nearly three-quarters of the students said they had not had as much opportunity to learn Maori language as they would have liked.

It is difficult to generalise about the experience of beginning teachers in mathematics, computers in the classroom, and Maori as far as their classroom programme was concerned. As we saw earlier, many factors influenced how well beginning teachers believed they were handling the various curriculum areas and a number of these apply particularly to mathematics, Maori, and computers in the classroom. For example, when we attempted to quantify by subject the number of beginning teachers who said they were having some problems, of the 54 beginning teachers trained in Auckland nearly a half said they were having some problems with these three subjects - computers in the classroom (25), Maori (22), and mathematics (21). However, the most common problem with regard to computers was limited access to computers within the school, although about a quarter of the beginning teachers also acknowledged their own lack of competence.

The way Maori was handled was heavily dependent on the school and locality. Once again, beginning teachers may have lacked skills themselves, but this was impossible to quantify because specialist teachers were referred to by nearly a quarter of beginning teachers. The question of the appropriateness of a focus on Maori in classes with predominantly Samoan and Asian pupils was also raised by beginning teachers, as was the view of parents in a number of schools, who did not want Maori included in the classroom programme.

In the case of mathematics, comments made by beginning teachers tended to centre around the particular books and resources favoured by or available in schools, although a few beginning teachers spoke of lack of personal confidence in the subject, perhaps having difficulty with the level at which they were teaching, as well as the range of children's abilities. These latter two points were not peculiar to mathematics.

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework was launched in 1993. The national curriculum was described by the Minister in an earlier discussion paper as '... one of the key mechanisms for achieving the Government's goals for education'.[19] The Minister went on to refer to the Government's Achievement Initiative policy in schools which will define the achievement standards expected in english, mathematics, science, and technology, four of the first curriculum areas to be launched. Our cohort of students left college in the year the first subject, mathematics, was launched. So although draft documents were in schools, we do not know the extent to which students were prepared for these developments. Looked at from the perspective of beginning teachers, it is likely that of the four curriculum initiatives to be launched first, English, mathematics, and science will be handled competently in the classroom, to the extent that their college preparation included approaches appropriate for the new curriculum initiatives.[20]

Technology is one of seven 'essential learning areas' described in *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (1993). As this curriculum development has occurred after the time of our field work, we cannot comment on the technological skills of the students and beginning teachers in our study. However, if technological innovation is to occur in schools, courses in initial teacher education will obviously be of crucial importance.[21]

Lack of experience with computers also meant that some beginning teachers made less use of computers in the classroom than they might have done. Judging from the findings of our research, there were problems with computer courses in the colleges and they tended to be of three kinds:

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[19] *The National Curriculum of New Zealand: a discussion document* (1991).

[20] The new curriculum development in mathematics does involve a major change in direction as far as mathematics teaching is concerned, including changes in the concept of what mathematics is. This change requires changes in teaching style, classroom management, and the teacher's attitude to technology. The way mathematics is to be taught has moved from a sequence of skills to a more holistic, context-based, and integrated approach. A teacher development contract is being negotiated, and an attempt is being made through Advanced Studies for Teachers (AST) courses to bring teachers up-to-date. These will include teachers trained as recently as those in our study.

[21] This fact has led the Association for Information Technology in Teacher Education (ITTE) in Britain to launch a new journal to promote this belief and to fight for support for the continued development of information technology in initial teacher education. As Niki Davis points out in an article in the first issue of the journal, 'The enormous potential of information technology to change the focus of education from teaching to learning can be compared with the spread of literacy which resulted from the printing press' (p. 19).

- Competition for courses, so that students could not always get in, particularly in Auckland
- Courses which focused on the technology and programming, and did not include sufficient material of practical use for primary classrooms
- Out-of-date equipment, particularly in Wellington.

This situation has changed in some respects. In Wellington, for example, the college where students in our study were least likely to feel confident about using computers to assist children's learning in the classroom, the equipment and courses have since been revised. All computer equipment has been updated and is now 'state-of-the-art'. Computer courses used to be taught within the mathematics department, but there is now a separate computer suite under the aegis of the audiovisual department, where intensive computer studies courses are run. Individual departments also have computers which are used by staff with students to model uses of computers in the classroom in their particular curriculum area. All students now take computer courses as a compulsory part of the audiovisual programme, and other selected courses are also available.

A number of beginning teachers also spoke of schools budgeting to purchase more computers. Because the use of computers is a developing area in primary schools, courses on computers in schools were amongst those attended by beginning teachers along with other staff. To this extent, beginning teachers were on an equal footing with other staff. A few beginning teachers with computer experience prior to attending college took leadership roles in this area within the school. Shortage of resources, the constant need to update resources, and the ongoing need for development - of both lecturers in colleges of education and teachers in primary schools - are universal issues and not peculiar to New Zealand.

Maori Language

In *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (1993) it is stated that:

> Maori is the language of the tangata whenua of New Zealand. It is a taonga under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi and is an official language of New Zealand. Students [i.e. pupils in schools] will have the opportunity to become proficient in Maori. (p. 10)

Our research suggests that these aspirations were not achieved for most students admitted to courses of primary training in 1989 in the three colleges in our study. Unless the experience of later cohorts of students has improved, it is difficult to see how the goal for children in schools to develop the ability and confidence to communicate competently in Maori is to be achieved.

Should All Teachers Take a Course in Maori Language?

When we asked the first-year students in the interview sample if they thought that all teachers who were not native speakers of Maori should take a course in Maori language, 53% thought they should, but there were differences by colleges. In Auckland, where there was the highest proportion of Maori students and Maori in the community, students were least likely to think teachers should take a course in Maori language (39%). The reverse was true for Christchurch (63%). Students who answered 'No' were not necessarily opposed to the idea of teachers learning Maori, but they were opposed to any suggestion of compulsion. Regardless of whether they thought all teachers should take a course in Maori language, just over two-thirds of the students said they intended to do so. Once again, there were marked differences between colleges, with Wellington students being considerably more likely than students in the other two colleges to say they intended to do so (79% in Wellington, 62% in Christchurch, and 56% in Auckland). In some cases the student response was influenced by what courses in Maori language they thought would be available at the college. There was uncertainty, particularly at Auckland, as to whether or not students could learn the language there. A few had expected to do so but now assumed they would have to do so at university or polytechnic. Wellington and Christchurch students were more likely to think the opportunity was available at college through language classes, although they also referred to courses at university and polytechnic.

Students' Ability To Speak Maori

On entry to college, 2% of students said they were fluent or native speakers of the language and about 10% of students had conversational Maori; these were likely to be students who classified themselves as 'Maori'. Most students (91%) could only speak a few words of Maori (63%) or none at all (28%).

Students Who Had Had as Much Opportunity To Learn Maori as They Wished

At the end of their training, just over a quarter of the students over all said that they had had the opportunity to learn as much Maori as they wished. Wellington students were considerably more likely than students at other colleges to say this - 41% compared with fewer than a quarter of the students at Auckland (24%) and Christchurch (22%) ($\chi^2 = 7.355$, df = 2, $p < .025$). About half of the students added a comment to support their view. Almost all the student comments were from Auckland or Wellington, with the majority from Auckland. The comments tended to fall into four categories:

- Although the students had not learnt much Maori, they had learnt as much as they wished to learn because Maori was not a top priority for them and they did not wish to sacrifice their 'main' curriculum studies. For others this was because they did not think Maori appropriate preparation for schools with multicultural rolls.
- They appreciated the opportunities provided by the college and the support received from other students. The opportunities were there, but not all students availed themselves of them.
- Although they had had the opportunity to learn as much Maori as they wished, they were critical of certain aspects of the college programme and organisation, including the quality of some lecturing and limitations imposed by the timetable. (These comments were similar to those made by students who said they did *not* have the opportunity to learn as much Maori as they wished, discussed below.)
- They had learnt their Maori elsewhere, for example, at night class or university. Course levels at college were not appropriate for them.

Students Who Had Not *Had as Much Opportunity To Learn Maori as They Wished*

Nearly three-quarters of the students (73%) said they had *not* had as much opportunity to learn the language as they would have liked. With minor variations, this was so regardless of students' ethnic background or how much Maori they could speak on entry to college.

About two-thirds of students who said that they had *not* had the opportunity to learn as much Maori language as they would have liked added a comment. The departments in the three colleges ran different programmes, but there were similarities in the students' comments across the three colleges, although the emphasis placed on particular issues varied. Specific criticism of the Maori Studies Department was more likely in Auckland, including allegations of racism (*see* also pp. 166-174).

Students' comments:

- Most indicated that they had expected to have the chance to learn more Maori language than was provided by the college courses.

- Courses were too superficial and not an adequate preparation for the classroom.
- Courses were not sufficiently graded to cater for students with different backgrounds and experience.
- Students may have been prevented from doing as much Maori as they would have liked because of other curriculum choices they made, and lack of time.
- Criticism of a view held by some lecturers that it was not the college's responsibility to cater for students' language acquisition.

COLLEGES OF EDUCATION AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Teaching is a practical profession in which the relationship between theory and practice is dynamic and interactive. The perennial issue of the balance between theory and practice in teacher education was apparent as soon as we started interviewing students. At the beginning of the study most students had a strong commitment to train as teachers and wanted to get started straight away. For many, early experience in schools was the main way they saw themselves making a start in 'learning how to teach'. When they entered college, most did not have a coherent theory of teaching (some indeed were unaware that there was such a thing as pedagogical theory) to which they could link their teaching practice. They were looking forward to their preparation for their career in teaching, but were much more likely to be looking forward to the practical aspects of the course through teaching practice (75% of students) than to intellectual stimulation (49%) or educational theory (34%).

Teaching Experience: Associate Teachers

The relationship between colleges of education and primary schools is a cornerstone in the training, socialisation, and induction into the classroom of beginning teachers. However, teaching experience in the classroom was not an initial focus of this research study, which was more concerned with the students' experiences in college. In planning the study we felt that the experiences students had on teaching practice, although interesting in themselves, would have broadened an already wide-ranging study too much. Furthermore, two recent studies by Ramsay and Battersby (1988) and Hawe (1987) had already concentrated on this aspect of teacher training. The fact that as researchers we did not consider teaching practice in more detail in our original research design also indicates a mindset on our own part which did not fully acknowledge either the crucial importance of practical experience in the training of teachers, or the inter-connectedness of the in-college programme and teaching practice. It was the students themselves who kept bringing us back to these issues. Had we realised when the study was planned the crucial importance students attached to teaching practice and their experience with associate teachers, we would have planned to consider this aspect of their training more fully. We were surprised at how frequently teaching practice came up in student responses to other questions, for example, in students' general reaction to the college programme; as a 'key event' in their college experience; as a reason for their increased motivation to teach; the classroom as the place where their views had changed about how children learn; and associate teachers being the main influence on students' teaching styles.

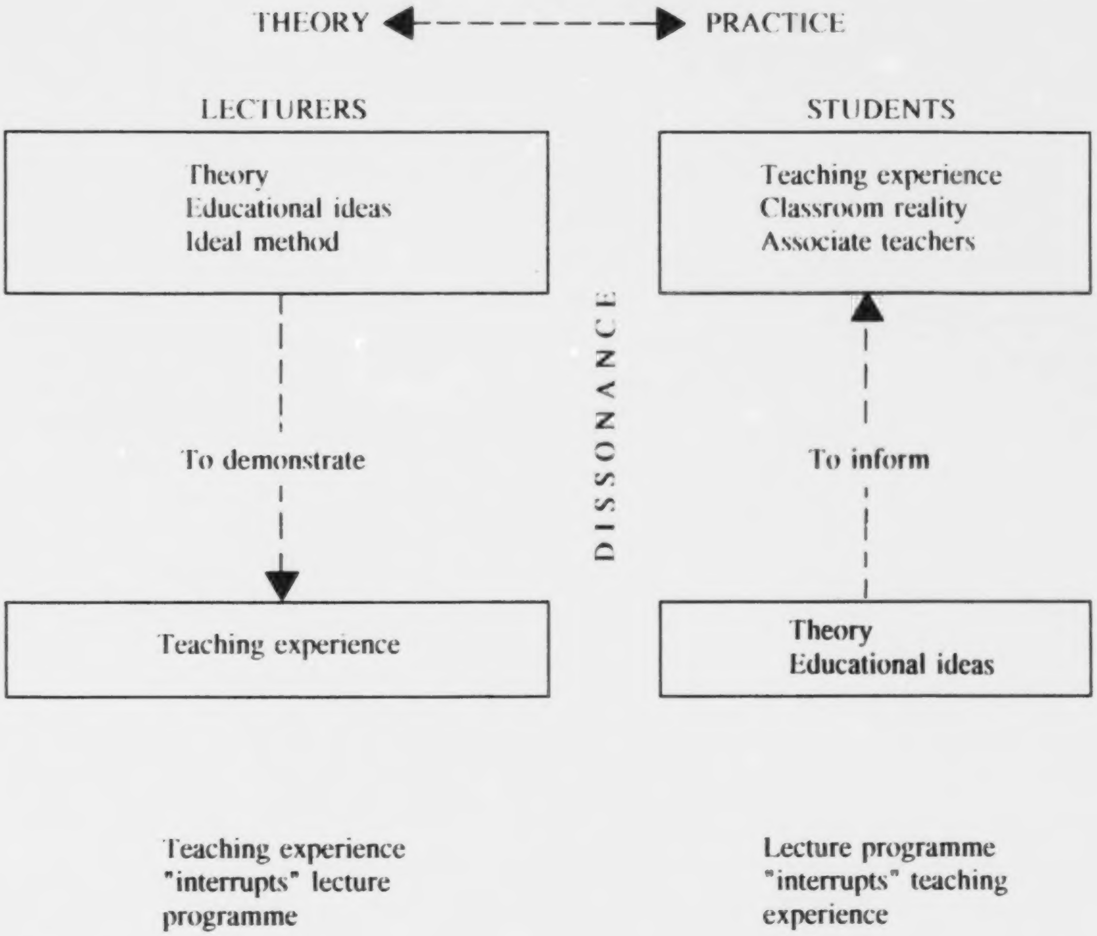
In their third year, at least three-quarters of the students said teaching experience had been one of the most useful parts of their training. The main benefits of teaching practice were twofold. Students could put into practice ideas gained from college courses (theory into practice), and gain further ideas from associate teachers. The weighting given to these two aspects varied from student to student. Some thought that 'teaching experience was the *most* beneficial part of the course, where you learnt the most through advice from the teacher and observation of the teacher'. Others valued teaching practice, but acknowledged that they would not have been able to achieve what they did in the classroom '...without college courses, for example curriculum courses in reading and maths'. Other comments made by students included the importance of:

- the experience gained by teaching children at all levels of the primary school,
- having an opportunity to spend time in a range of schools, for example, inner city, multicultural, with children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds,
- full control (but support available if needed),
- experience in setting up classroom programmes and teaching particular subjects,
- the opportunity to observe a range of teaching styles, including those students would *not* wish to emulate, and
- the opportunity to be immersed in a school environment.

The relationship between the college course and experience in classrooms is obviously a crucial one, and problems in co-ordinating the two underlined for students the gaps between theory and practice, a problem of which they were constantly aware. Students sometimes gave the impression that teaching practice and college courses were two quite separate experiences. Furthermore, there appeared to be dissonance between students' perceptions of where most college staff, as compared with most students, believed the main focus of their training should lie. Figure 7, based on the students' perceptions in their second year, summarises this tension.

Figure 7

Students' Perceptions of Theory and Practice



Lecturers and students alike recognised the importance of both the lecture room and the classroom. The importance of the relationship between the two was demonstrated by those college courses which ran concurrently with classroom practice. But in the view of students it was also true to say that the college was central to the training experience for lecturers, whereas the school was the major focus for the students. Lecturers believed that their courses prepared students to teach. The ideas and methods advocated by lecturers were presented to the students in college and could then be practised by them in schools.[22] The students, on the other hand, saw the major focus of their training to be in the classroom, and viewed the college as a place which should have helped them to cope more effectively in schools. As one student put it:

> Teaching practice sections are not well co-ordinated with the college course. Lecturers tend to blame the teaching sections for getting in the way of their courses. They tend to say, "Well, we've only got six weeks to do this, so what we'll do is we'll give you this assignment to do on your section". Not, "You can use this section to test this. This is what we have taught you, so why not do this assignment". Sections are treated as a kind of "tack-on" to the course, when they could be regarded as a very positive thing. (Christchurch)

Co-ordination Between Teaching Experience and the College Programme

Students at each college had classroom experience in schools as part of their college course. This may have been in the form of one-off lessons, occasional or regular visits linked to a particular college course, or longer periods, usually of four to six weeks, when students were attached to an associate teacher in a classroom. These longer periods were referred to as teaching experience in Auckland and Wellington and teaching practice in Christchurch. Students themselves often referred to their time in schools as being 'on section'. In their second year, students were asked if they thought their teaching experience or teaching practice sections were co-ordinated with the rest of the college programme.

There were clear differences by college in the students' responses to this question. Despite the comment of the student quoted above, students trained at Christchurch and Auckland were more likely than those from Wellington to think that teaching practice sections were well co-ordinated with the rest of the college programme (Christchurch 61% of students, Auckland 55%, Wellington 29%). The ways the colleges organised their teaching experiences differed, and the co-ordination of teaching practice sections and college programmes came under scrutiny during the course of our study, particularly in Wellington, where a new lecturer was appointed to be responsible for student placements in schools.

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[22] Ramsay and Battersby (1988) commented that 'almost without exception, college programmes were based on the assumption that schools were sites for putting into practice the theories of teaching, learning and child behaviourisms that are aspired to at college' (p. 17).

Despite differences between colleges in the ways they organised teaching experience, there were common themes in the students' comments across colleges:

- The value of teaching experience was largely dependent on the quality of individual associates.
- The most appropriate time of the year for school placements may not have been considered, particularly in terms of the college programme and in relation to school holidays. Placements at the end or beginning of terms might make college preparation and follow-up difficult.
- The relevance of the teaching 'brief' varied. Students may have found it difficult to carry out their 'brief' from college if it did not fit in with the class programme. In such cases they needed a certain amount of latitude. For example, a student may have been expected to focus on science, but the class was concentrating on health, or students may have been required to consider how units of study were introduced, but the class was finishing a unit of work.
- Conversely, the classroom teacher may have expected students to take lessons on topics in curriculum areas not yet covered at college. If students had not yet covered a particular curriculum area they may not have had appropriate resources.
- The number and length of teaching practice sections was criticised - students usually believed sections should have been greater in number and of longer duration.
- Problems of co-ordinating teaching practice with college courses arose where a wide range of college courses were offered, particularly at Wellington. This problem was exacerbated if students had a measure of choice as to when they did teaching practice. Such a policy may have meant teaching practice sections appeared to be 'ad hoc' or 'just pop up'.
- There were not enough associates in a range of schools easily accessible to the college.
- The students may have had problems with teaching experience at one level of the system, particularly intermediate, when the curriculum for that level had not been covered.

- Lecturers in different departments varied in the way they handled teaching experience requirements.

- Fitting in the requirements of a teaching practice section with other college assignments could be difficult.

- The relevance of what was learnt at college for the school system may have been questioned. Some associates told students that what they were learning in college was a waste of time and would not fit them for the real world of the classroom.

- Departments varied widely as to the direct relevance of what they were doing for the classroom, and therefore its usefulness for teaching experience.

- The time needed to fulfil college requirements conflicted with allowing enough time to get the best out of the experience with a particular class.

- Effective follow-up after teaching experience was not always available.

- Those doing a combined college/university course had particular problems. If they were doing the course concurrently they had to fit teaching practice into university timetables and to select schools close to the university. This limited the range available. If they were doing mainly university study, they had little contact with college, so it was more difficult to co-ordinate their teaching experience with college courses.

Students who thought teaching practice was well co-ordinated with the rest of the college programme usually did so when there was a good relationship between block courses and the assignments set for teaching practice. Although most students were pleased with the link between the subjects they had studied in their block courses and the teaching practice assignments, a few students felt this linkage narrowed the broad focus they believed should be the objective of teaching practice experience. Teaching practice provided a good opportunity to put into practice various topics they had dealt with in college, for example, lesson plans. College courses were more practical in the second and third years, so that students found it easier to apply what they had learnt to the classroom when they were on teaching practice sections.

A minority of students in their third year were almost dismissive of the in-college programme, for example:

> I don't know that the training has made an awful lot of difference. It's the practical experience on section that makes the difference. I could go through a whole year here and the only times that I feel I actually am making headway with my ability to manage a class, and to actually help the children to learn is when I'm on section, and that's four weeks every six months. It's not a lot of time devoted to the real business of teaching. (Auckland)

However, students more commonly acknowledged that both the in-college programme and the teaching practice sections contributed to their development as practising teachers:

> I think most things I've learnt, I've learnt through going out on section and making mistakes and having good things happen. But I've also learnt lots here about individual learning and all the things that I didn't really have any idea about. I've still got the qualities I had before in my personality but I've learnt everything I know about teaching since I got here. (Wellington)

> I've learnt quite a lot about classroom management, mainly from being on section though, but I think college has tried to give you a background on things in school and then you've gone out to school and you've had the experience and then you've had questions to ask and you can come back and ask the college and you can talk about the things you've experienced while you were out in schools. (Wellington)

Students throughout their training were quick to criticise shortcomings in individual lecturers, and in some college programmes, but most accepted that teaching practices advocated by lecturers were in the vanguard of educational opinion. Only rarely did students refer to experiences in schools which they thought were in advance of methods being discussed in college. In their third year we asked students if there had ever been occasions when they had seen practices in school which they thought were in advance of those advocated at college. The majority, more than 80%, answered 'No'. Student complaints were less likely to be about lecturers advocating out-of-date methods, although they did consider individual lecturers to be out of touch with current classroom practices, than about the problems of linking theory and practice - a perennial issue in teacher education.

Discussion

It is not surprising that students valued practical experience in classrooms so highly. It was in the classroom that they could demonstrate for themselves, and others, how well they were progressing towards competency in their chosen profession. This does not mean that their classroom experience was the only valuable part of their training. That would be similar to suggesting that work in an operating theatre was the only valuable part of training to be a surgeon. Teaching experience, both the teaching blocks and other regular contact with children in schools through the various curriculum studies, was an integral part of the *total* training experience. It should not be considered in isolation from the in-college course.

An International Concern

The debate about the place of teaching experience in the preservice training of students, which is essentially about the relationship between theory and practice, is not new.[23] It is probably the most consistent subject of discussion in the research literature on teacher education. Dewey (1904) noted that American students during their practicum adopted the 'practice' of their supervisors and, at the same time, 'abandoned the theory' of the tertiary institution. Regan (1991), writing in Australia, points out that the practicum being perceived by students and teachers as one of the most valuable components of preservice training has been well documented in many countries for at least the last 20 years. He goes on to say, however, '... sometimes such positive regard arises by default in that the more "theoretical" components of the pre-service programme are down-graded by students and supervisors. Whether such down-grading is justified or not is another question'. (p. 3)

Su (1992), in a paper based on data collected as part of Goodlad's national research project in the United States on educating the educators, investigated different sources of influence on the educational beliefs and values of teacher candidates in their initial professional socialisation experiences in 29 teacher training institutions. Student teaching and co-operating teachers were found to be the most important sources of such influence. The course curriculum on the college campus was found to be less influential than student teaching. The faculty members perceived themselves as having greater influence than the students perceived them to have.[24]

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[23] Not only is the debate about theory and practice of longstanding concern, it is not confined to the teaching profession. Yinger (1987) comments: 'When teachers are asked to identify the most beneficial component of their professional education, student teaching is usually first. Similarly, when doctors, lawyers, engineers, or other professionals are asked the same question, they nominate their internships, practicums, professional co-ops, or other "on-the-job" experiences. Evidently, these learning experiences are highly valued because learning takes place that is useful when one enters the profession...."learning by doing" presents unique learning opportunities.' (p. 303)

[24] Another example of evidence of the importance attached to teaching practice by practitioners and researchers is the fact that in Australia, for example, at a recent conference on the Past,

As MacKinnon (1989) points out in his article, 'Living with Conformity in Student Teaching', based on the Canadian experience, the importance of the practicum, or student teaching experience, is acknowledged by the quantity of research devoted to this topic. He suggests that if practical experience is meant to 'reinforce the transfer of theory into practice, then the nature of that practice must come under careful scrutiny, and the experience must be structured to maximise the accomplishment of this goal' (p. 10). Otherwise, he says, there is a tendency for student teachers to conform to the practices and experiences of associate teachers. The task is less one of learning theories and more one of learning to think theoretically. Student teachers need to begin to learn the art of critical reflection.

> While critical reflection is unlikely to overcome conforming tendencies among student teachers, encouraging and assisting students to carefully analyse the assumptions which underlie classroom actions and to consider alternative instructional approaches may go a long way toward ensuring that conforming actions as student teachers do not follow them into their own classrooms. (p. 10)

In a British report of a study carried out at Sheffield University, in the context of the debate about the structure and future of teacher education (Squirrell *et al.*, 1990), the authors caution against relying on students' attitudes towards teaching practice.

> There is a problem in asking students where they have learnt their teaching skills. Because teaching practice is clearly and unambiguously the generator of one form of knowledge, they will tend to underestimate the ways in which other aspects of the course have prepared the ground for practical experience to feed knowledge making. (p. 11)

If students anticipate that courses are going to be practical, and their expectations are not met, they may reject what is offered, rather than revise their view of how one learns from practice. They may use the label 'theory' to diminish what does not seem to them to be relevant especially if they do not have an interest in broader educational issues. The students' belief that school experience is the crucial part of the course is often fuelled by classroom teachers who emphasise the cardinal importance of teaching practice.

Present and Futures in Teacher Education (Australian Teacher Education Association, 1991) 18 of the 108 papers presented were on the practicum, as was a half-day symposium. Those with a specific interest in the practicum were probably members of the Council for the Practicum in Teacher Education, established in 1987; they also attended an annual conference devoted entirely to the subject.

Lacefield and Mahan (1980) comment that most studies in the United States confirm that most preservice students claim that the student teaching experience is the apex of their preparation programme. They go on to single out the critical influence of the supervising teacher. The various research studies they cite concur that the critical variables affecting educational attitude change during student teaching are the attitudes and values affirmed and expressed in action by the supervising teachers. Lacefield and Mahan (1980) demonstrated that Festinger's cognitive dissonance model provided an excellent framework for relating and explaining students' attitudinal change.

> The theory and model point to attitude change as a function of the level or intensity of the perceived dissonance and the duration of that 'uncomfortable' state of being. Given that the subject can neither change nor escape from the situation, he or she will act to change attitudes in such ways as to diminish that dissonance. Applied to teachers and teaching experiences, cognitive dissonance theorists would argue that student teachers will 'move' toward the educational value positions espoused by their supervising teachers, and later as in-service teachers, toward the underlying values or 'philosophies' of their employing schools. (p.3)

A similar view is articulated by Menter (1989), whose field work on teaching practice led him to conclude that 'teaching practice is characterised by "stasis", a strong tendency for those most closely involved to avoid conflict or confrontation. Even mild criticism of existing classroom practices is avoided.' (p. 459)

Batten *et al.* (1991), in a recent Australian study, also comment that 'the improvement most desired by teachers was that their courses should be more practical or, as one teacher put it, "less emphasis on the 'why' and more on the 'how'".... These pleas for a more practical orientation must be heeded by those involved in teacher education, but perhaps the solution lies not in lessening of the theoretical component of a teacher education course, but in helping students to make stronger links between theory and practice.' (p. 16)

Closer to home, Snook (1992) expresses impatience with 'peddling the silly distinction between theory and practice'. He considers the continuing controversies about theory and practice in teacher education to be 'among the most obdurate and absurd' (p. 15). He argues for a distinction being made between 'applicative' and 'interpretive' uses of knowledge. Knowledge which is not necessarily applied may be necessary for an interpretive understanding of what a teacher in the classroom, for example, is engaged in doing.

School-based Training

Consideration of the issue of the place of practical experience within a college course has become confused with, or in some cases taken over by, consideration of an apprenticeship or school-based model of teacher education. If teaching is essentially a practical profession, and the students themselves place such value on practical experience, should the schools take over the training of teachers?

Stones (1987) and others point to the major flaws in assuming that practice teaching, which had its origins in 'ideas of craft apprenticeship', is the most effective way to train teachers. If students are to be trained to have a capacity for critical and analytic thinking, they need more than the 'craft knowledge' central to the culture of most schools. At a superficial level it may appear to be 'effective, simple and commonsensical', but it represents a 'transmission mode of teaching and underestimates the complexity and difficulty of learning to teach because it springs from a profound misconception of the nature of teaching itself' (p. 652). In the study by Squirrell *et al*. referred to earlier, the authors comment:

> A key issue is the role of colleges and universities in the education of new teachers and in particular, how far initial teacher education should be school-based. These courses relate to the over-arching question: how do teachers best acquire professional knowledge and competence? (p. 1)

The authors reiterate that the debate is not new, but the sharp distinction between theory and practice, in their view, is simplistic and out of tune with contemporary school-focused teacher education courses.

> What teachers can offer is practice-based knowledge rooted in sustained experience of a particular setting; what university educators [college lecturers] offer is an analytic perspective that is fed by observation in a range of classrooms and sharpened by evidence of research. The contributions are different and complementary. (p. 2)

Course organisation where theoretical studies and teaching assignments are demarcated reinforce the stereotypes in students' minds. Teaching practice must be regarded as an integral part of the training process. As we have seen, in our study some lecturers and colleges managed this integration better than others.

Various studies and reports itemise problems associated with the role of associate teachers, teaching practice sections, and school-based training schemes. Some of these are common to both approaches. Working with a classroom teacher may simply perpetuate methods that are not necessarily the ones likely to enhance pupils' learning. Any one teacher can offer a student only a limited range of skills and approaches which often reflect his or her own personality. Modelling on an associate does not necessarily encourage students to go beyond the teaching observed and experiment for themselves. This was a limitation recognised by some students in our study, who felt uncomfortable teaching in a style that was acceptable to the associate, but was not one with which the student was in sympathy. Some of the beginning teachers also commented that one of the things they enjoyed about having their own class was that they were able to experiment, whereas previously they had had to follow the classroom programmes of associates. Stones (1987) also raises the issue of there being no universally accepted criteria of what constitutes a 'master [*sic*] teacher'.

On the other hand, students who have a number of teaching practice sections in different schools have the opportunity to observe a range of teaching styles. We mentioned earlier that some of the students in our study noted that 'poor' associates helped them to clarify their ideas about teaching methods they did not wish to employ. In an American study, Hollingsworth (1989) investigated changes in preservice teachers' knowledge and beliefs about reading instruction, and confirmed the value of cognitive dissonance in practical teaching contexts:

> ... contrasting viewpoints were helpful in clarifying complex aspects of classroom life and promoting comprehensive learning when accompanied by an expectation and support for preservice teachers to try out their own and program-related ideas. The study challenges the common sense notion that preservice teachers should be placed with teachers with whom they agree and that co-operating teachers should be chosen who are model teachers according to program philosophy. Such teachers tended to promote rote copying or modelling of their behaviour, limiting the depth of preservice teachers' processing of information and change in beliefs. The matched pairings, in other words, hindered knowledge growth. (p. 186)

Hollingsworth goes on to say that a flexible approach is needed in teacher education to help students to 'understand the complexities involved in classroom life, and learn that methods, management, and even content will vary given particular schools and children'. This view would be shared by a number of our beginning teachers, who thought lecturers were not necessarily in touch with the reality and complexity of teaching in contemporary schools, particularly those with high multiethnic rolls.

There are other problems associated with classroom practice and school-based training. One recent British survey (Swanwich and Chitty, 1989) reports that teachers often fail to give advice or assistance to students on teaching practice. The vast majority of teachers reported that they could not undertake adequately the major training responsibility and heavy demands involved in supervising students, because of lack of time, other commitments, the demands of their own pupils, and lack of training and resources.

An American study, based on the assumption that a 'co-operating' teacher (in New Zealand terms, associate teacher) is vital to student teaching (Koerner, 1992), reported on a course for associate teachers in Chicago where they discussed their own diary entries of the consequences of having student teachers in their classroom. Student teachers may regard classroom practice as the most helpful part of their preservice programme, but when students arrive in the classroom 'with energy and well-intended plans', they can cause disruptions. The teachers returned repeatedly in their journals and in the class discussions to the idea that 'the education of their pupils is their most important priority' (p. 48), and that there are problems associated with shifting teachers' time and energy to instruction of the student teacher. There are also compensations; one of the most important is that the experience of supervising students encourages associate teachers to reflect about themselves as practitioners, and critically examine their own classroom practices. However, educating children and student teachers in the same room is a complex process.

A report for the Department of Education and Science in Britain, *School-based Initial Teacher Training in England and Wales* (1991), also emphasises the complementary contributions of institutions of higher education and schools. The major objection to school-based training cited in this report is that the 'prime purpose of schools, and the one to which governors and head teachers give priority, is to teach pupils, not train students' (p. 4). Nor are schools resourced to train teachers. School-based training would require the teachers involved to have more time, resources, and training. (The same applies to the more effective use of associate teachers.)

Teachers' work is already complex and demanding. Assisting the professional development of future colleagues is another demand on their time and energy. Their role in the professional development of future teachers needs to be valued and recognised. In an ideal situation the presence of students should encourage teachers to reflect on their own objectives and teaching methods; gain stimulus from new ideas brought in by the student; gain support for individual children by having an extra teacher; free the classroom teacher to observe children when handled by someone else; and enhance their own professional standing.

If classroom teachers are to play such an important role in teacher training, they want to be more than 'silent partners' in the process. The colleges in our study recognised that the selection and preparation of associate teachers is of crucial importance. As well as being competent classroom teachers, they need an understanding of teacher education. It is not sufficient just to be able to demonstrate good practice. Skills at working with students are also necessary. In short, the role of the associate teacher is also one that requires training and regular updating.

The colleges have a problem in being able to select sufficient numbers of teachers teaching in ways which demonstrate effectively the teaching methods advocated by the college, and within easy travelling distance for students. All colleges are endeavouring to improve this situation. In Wellington, there is an Advanced Studies for Teachers (AST) course for associate teachers. It is hoped that eventually all associate teachers will have this qualification. In Auckland, a group of associate teachers is being trained to be resource people for other associate teachers. In Christchurch, associates are regularly invited into the college before students are posted to schools, and the college's expectations of students are discussed with them. The college also runs courses for associates on skills identified by associates, for example, observation techniques. Such courses have been run in Blenheim and on the West Coast, as well as on the main campus.

Colleges of teacher education necessarily provide generic courses which aim to meet the needs of most students. A college programme will never be able to prepare beginning teachers for *specific* situations. Even if courses were more school-based, this would still be the case, with the added problem that students' learning, by being restricted to more specific situations, would not address their future learning and teaching needs. A course of training should enable students to begin to develop a philosophy of education, based on sound learning principles and sufficient practical experience in a range of classroom settings to allow students to develop confidence in their own teaching skills, including a range of strategies which will enable them to face specific classroom challenges as they arise. An inquiry-orientated view of teacher education is the best preparation to enable students to become problem solvers in the classroom and to shape the educational direction of their own classroom. No matter how well trained they are, novices to any profession inevitably experience some anxiety and tension at the beginning of their career. Judging by their perceptions of their performance, most of the beginning teachers in our study were well prepared to face the challenges of the classroom.

LEARNING AND TEACHING

In the course of this study we asked a series of questions intended to discover students' attitudes towards learning and teaching, linked with their perception of a 'good teacher', and what they later, as beginning teachers, thought of as effective schools. In this chapter we summarise and discuss their developing views.

Prospective Students as Future Classroom Teachers

Before students began their training we asked them, through our initial questionnaire (N = 549), what were the most important things they hoped to be able to do for the children in their class. Prospective students saw themselves in a central role in developing positive attitudes towards learning by providing a stimulating and lively classroom. Their aim was to foster a desire to learn on the part of the children. 'Instil in them a drive to learn'; 'generate an inquiring mind'; 'impart to them the joy of learning'; 'get them excited and motivated about learning'.

Many prospective students expressed the view that in order for children to learn they must 'enjoy' learning. (This was so for about a third of the 260 student comments included in this category.) The classroom must be '...a fun place of learning and growing'; learning '...must be fun and not a chore'.

The idea that learning should be pleasurable coincides with what New Zealand parents and children expect of the early years of school in particular.[25] It would be interesting to know how universal this view is. It certainly contrasts with attitudes towards school and learning described in Brian Jackson's study of children from different cultural backgrounds in the United Kingdom. He had this to say about a five-year-old Pakistani girl starting school in Huddersfield, Yorkshire:

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[25] See Renwick, M.E. (1984). *To School at Five*, p. 10.

> Small, brown-eyed Yasmin, quiet and obedient, knows exactly why she has to start school: to learn to read, write and speak good English, to train for a good job. She does not expect to play, nor imagine friendships, nor expect any reward save that of hard work to be successfully accomplished over the next thirteen years.[36]

More recently the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), in its 1993 *Reports to Annual Meeting*, itemised the ways by which primary schools help children to learn. The opening statement in the section, *"Primary Education: Where to now?"*, reads: 'Primary programmes prove that learning is fun' (p.13).

Children should also be treated as individuals. A common view of what students intended to do for the children in their class would be summarised by the prospective student who wrote:

> To give each individual student the opportunity to progress in their education and grow as individuals.

The role of the teacher was to 'give each child the opportunity to learn', 'to encourage individuality and identity'. In order for children to develop as individuals, teachers must give children individual attention, recognise individual differences, and cater for individual needs.

Prospective students also believed primary teachers had a particular responsibility to provide children with a grounding in the basic skills. Central to this core of knowledge were the three Rs - reading, writing, and arithmetic. A stable beginning to education would enable children to '...continue with their education and equip them for life'. Children's experiences at primary school laid the foundation for their future educational achievements. Prospective students made few other references to the curriculum although some said they hoped to provide a varied curriculum and others singled out particular subject areas which they intended to emphasise. These were most commonly either creative or sporting activities. There were a few references to a culturally appropriate curriculum, with a concern for children from ethnic minority groups.

In order to achieve their classroom goals, prospective students emphasised that the teacher needed to develop an environment where children were supported and the teacher trusted.

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[36] Jackson, B. (1979) *Starting School*, p. 30.

> Provide a loving, caring environment in which children can feel happy, secure and unafraid to explore themselves.

As well as teachers needing to be 'understanding' and a 'friend', a minority of prospective students also spoke of the need for teachers to discipline children when needed, and, while relating to children on a personal level, to 'also remain the authoritative figure' in the relationship.

Relatively few of the prospective student responses referred to the importance of the teacher's role in encouraging children to get along with each other. Those who did, made comments such as:

> To help them to relate to their peers in a loving, helpful way, accepting differences in each other.

Prospective students referred to the teacher's role in helping children to develop positive attitudes towards each other, to be respectful and tolerant of their differences, and to co-operate with others. But the broader social goals of responsibility to the group were less likely to be mentioned than the needs of individual children. Compared with the 25% of responses which referred to the need for teachers to be concerned with children's individual development and identity, only about 10% were concerned with children's relationships with each other. As with the stress on children 'enjoying' learning, this may be a culture-bound attitude. It would be interesting, for example, to compare these attitudes with those of Japanese students.

On entry to college, students appeared already to hold views about their future roles as classroom teachers which were in sympathy with contemporary classroom practice: the provision of a stimulating classroom where children are encouraged to learn and enjoy learning; recognition of children as individuals and the importance of building children's confidence and self-esteem; the importance of a good grounding in basic skills; and the need for positive pupil-teacher relationships in a supportive environment. However, the students' comments also tended to imply that learning was an activity carried out between teacher and pupil, with the teacher in a dominant role. Co-operative learning between pupils, or pupils learning from each other, were rarely mentioned.

Prospective Students in the Classroom

In a further attempt to tap student attitudes towards their future role as classroom teachers, we asked the prospective students to do a quick sketch of themselves with a class of children. We also asked them to describe what they and the children were doing.

Typically students drew themselves in a dominant role in control of the total class. Nearly 60% of the drawings showed the teacher either standing or sitting in front of the whole class.

Only about 10% of drawings showed children working in groups, and a similar number of children working as individuals. Oral language, which usually meant the teacher reading stories to children, but included morning talks and general 'talking and listening', dominated the curriculum area described, accounting for about 50% of all the activities described. Young children dominated the pictures, with 44% of students drawing five- to seven-year-olds.

Obviously many factors influenced what the prospective students drew, including their artistic skills, the time available, and interest in the topic. It would be a mistake to read too much into the sketches, but at a superficial level they suggest what Rae Munro (1993)[27] would describe as 'folklore practice' in classroom teaching (as opposed to learning-centred practices), characterised by an authority-centred teacher-pupil relationship.

Children's Learning

Learning and teaching was a recurring theme throughout the present study. Before students started their courses of training and at the completion of the course, we asked them to complete the statement *I think children learn best when ......* and to answer the question *What do you think are the main reasons why some children do not succeed at school?*

Coding these open-ended questions raised the typical problems of qualitative data analysis - interpretation, classification, and quantification. We prepared a model for classification which suited both questions. Essentially the model was divided into three segments, namely, factors dependent on or influenced by:

Children: (1) Their motivation; emotional state; self-esteem; personality; confidence.

(2) Their abilities: mental and physical, including health.

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[27] Munro, R. (1993) "Classroom Teaching." Unpublished notes. Auckland College of Education.

Teachers: (1) Their overall competence as teachers; their teaching methods, including activity methods and discovery learning; their recognition of children as individuals; discipline.

(2) Teacher personality; teacher/pupil relationships.

(3) The curriculum introduced by teachers: content; relevance; cultural appropriateness.

Environment: (1) The home: parental support.

(2) The school, particularly the classroom atmosphere; organisation; resources.

(3) Influence of peers: class co-operation.

On Entry to College[28]

- The prospective students' responses tended to stress the teacher's role as teacher rather than the children's role as learner. Students certainly regarded the teacher and the methods he or she used as the major reason why children succeeded at school. If the responses referring to teaching methods and the importance of the teacher's personality were combined, they accounted for 58% of the responses. By comparison, comments about children's motivation and abilities accounted for only 20% of the responses. However, students' comments about teaching methods also included comments that focused on children's learning.

- The prospective students' attitudes towards the influence of parents and the home were revealing. Students appeared to view both in a negative sense, in that they were perceived as a major cause of school failure (27% of responses), but relatively unimportant in helping children to succeed at school (4% of responses).

- Children's natural abilities were not mentioned very often in terms of school success (3% of responses), although disabilities were a factor contributing to school failure (10% of responses). Physical disabilities and poor health were likely to be mentioned more frequently than mental disabilities.

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[28] *See* also Tables 10 and 11 *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 1*, p. 48-49.

- Few of the prospective students referred to the curriculum as contributing to children's learning. However, the fact that the number who referred to the curriculum was low needs to be treated with caution. It was often difficult to distinguish between 'teaching methods' and 'curriculum'; the two categories as we classified them tended to overlap. .

At the End of Training

The role of the teacher

- The competence of the teacher was seen as the main factor contributing both to children's success at school and to their failure. It was the teacher's responsibility to use appropriate teaching methods in a classroom environment which was stimulating for children and supportive of their needs.
- The single most important contributor to school failure was teacher incompetence, either because of the use of inappropriate teaching methods, curriculum content which did not suit individual children, an unsupportive classroom environment, or inadequacies of teacher personality and poor teacher/pupil relationships.
- There appeared to be a shift in student opinion about the role of teachers. Competent teachers were still the main contributors to pupil success, but students were more likely to regard lack of teacher competence as contributing to school failure than they did when they entered college.

The role of the pupil

- Students made very little reference to children's abilities, either mental, physical or social, as contributing to either their success or failure at school, but there appeared to have been a slight shift since students began their course of training. On entry, a minority of students made reference to pupils' lack of academic ability - the fact that, in the words of one student, 'some children are just thick' - as being a contributing factor to school failure. The students made no such comments at the end of their course. Similarly, some students on entry to college explained school failure in terms of children's physical handicaps, for example, poor eyesight or hearing. There were fewer such references at the end of the course. The underlying assumption was that all children were capable of learning, and it was the teacher's responsibility to ensure that this occurred.
- By comparison, how children felt about themselves, particularly their self-esteem, was seen as an important factor in contributing to both school success

and school failure. Children with low self-esteem were often considered to be poorly motivated to learn.

The role of the parents

- Students believed that the role of parents and the home was markedly less significant than either the school or the children themselves in contributing to school success or failure. Where parents did have an impact, it was more likely to contribute to failure than success. There did, however, appear to have been a movement in student opinion since they began their training. Few students mentioned parents contributing to school success, but they were less likely at the end of their training to believe that parents were responsible for children's failure at school.

Student Views on How Children Learn

This movement in student opinion as to the reasons why children succeed or fail at school was also apparent by their second year, as reflected in their responses to questions about children's learning. We asked the students in our interview sample whether their views on how children learn had changed since the beginning of the college course, and if so, in what ways.

Most students thought their views had changed. There was a slight variation between colleges but, judging by the students' comments, the differences were less likely to relate to different course content or approaches within the colleges than to differences in what students already knew (or believed they knew) about how children learn before they entered college. The most common reason for students saying that their views about how children learn had *not* changed since the beginning of the course was that they felt they already knew quite a bit about the process before the course began. This was usually because of previous experience they had had, perhaps as kindergarten, music, or Sunday school teachers, or as sports coaches. A few students referred to university courses or the influence of other members of the family, usually mothers, who were also teachers, or the fact that they themselves were parents. (It was interesting to note that when students referred to their own learning experiences by way of an explanation of what they had previously thought, they tended to refer to their most recent learning experiences in secondary schools, rather than to their experience in primary school classrooms. There were, for example, isolated references to taking notes from the blackboard in preparation for the School Certificate examination.) Students who said their views had *not* changed often added a rider that their views had been confirmed, strengthened, and broadened.

Although there was variation in the comments made by students, there was nevertheless a general change in their perception; they were still seeing themselves in the role of teachers, but they were beginning to focus on children as learners. In the words of three students:

> I used to think children were a pot you poured knowledge into. But I've changed a lot. Children bring their own agendas into the classroom. (Christchurch)
>
> Child-centred learning. I was probably not aware of that and actually handing over the responsibility to the children themselves. You really just stimulate them and give them ideas and they actually teach themselves. Because I've always been such a busy, responsible sort of person, I'm used to doing it all but it's really up to them. (Wellington)
>
> When I first started I didn't know how children learn. I just thought that the teacher came in and had it all together and the kids sat there and soaked it all up ... (Auckland)

What follows is a summary of the range of comments made by students across all colleges. It was not possible to quantify the number of students who subscribed to each point. The list gives an indication of the views held by many students during their second year of training.

The ways students' views on how children learn had changed:

- A more child-centred approach; a greater awareness of children's individual differences and needs.
- The importance of a child's previous experience. Teachers need to find out what the children know; to build on what they already know; the importance of interactive teaching. Children are not empty vessels to be filled.
- Teachers need to be flexible in their approaches; there is merit in a range of methods. Not all children learn in the same way or in the same way all the time.
- Children do want to learn. A greater awareness of the need for children to become independent learners; handing the responsibility for learning over to the children; children are capable of learning more than previously thought.
- Children learn what they want to learn not what teachers want to teach; children need to pose some of the questions. It's the child who does the learning and the teacher cannot control what learning will take place - teacher as facilitator rather than the font of all knowledge.

- Children learn best when they are actively engaged and the programme is practically based; the importance of active, hands-on, learn-by-doing discovery approaches; learning is apparent through 'changed behaviour'.
- Children need to be motivated by making content interesting and fun; children are more likely to learn if they enjoy what they are doing.
- The importance of home background, particularly differences in cultural experiences.
- Reconsidered explanations for why children fail to learn.
- The difference between rote learning and meaningful learning.
- The value of shared, co-operative learning; children learn from each other; the influence of peers.
- Learning principles are the same for various ages - including very young children. But children do learn different things at different stages; age appropriateness.
- The importance of positive reinforcement.
- How to break down curriculum content.
- The importance of the teacher's manner and methods, and the classroom environment.
- Learning is a more complex process than at first thought.
- Learning about children's learning is a lifelong process.

Did Lecturers Present a Coherent, Co-ordinated View of How Children Learn?

We were interested to know whether students, by their second year, thought lecturers presented a 'coherent, co-ordinated view of how children learn'. Over all, just over half of the students (54%) thought the lecturers did present a coherent and co-ordinated view of how children learn. (There were slight differences between the colleges, with 61% of the Auckland students thinking they did, compared with 50% of the Wellington students and 52% of those from Christchurch.) Students frequently added supporting comments, although for those who answered 'yes', these tended to be general comments such as 'the good lecturers do'.

Students Who Answered 'No' or 'Don't know'

The student responses here included the following comments:

- Lecturers differ from one another in their views of how children learn. Different lecturers follow different theories but they tend to 'head in the same direction', for example, children learn through concrete experiences; the teacher needs to start where the children are at.

- There was consensus within some departments, for example, reading, but it was hard for students to pick up a coherent or co-ordinated view, because there was so little co-ordination between subjects:

  > The English people teach English, the physical education people teach physical education, and social studies teach social studies. We really learn about children learning through different theories in the education department. (Auckland)

  Lecturers tended to be more interested in their own subject than in how children learn, and children learn rather differently in different subjects.
- One of the reasons for differences between departments was that some were more practical than others, for example, physical education.
- Students could not expect a coherent and co-ordinated view because there was so much debate about how children learn.
- It took a while for students to consider the different viewpoints of various lecturers, work out where they complemented each other and where they disagreed, and then come up with their own philosophy.
- There was a difference between what students learnt in college and what they experienced in schools.
- Students who had done university courses found it hard to remember where they picked up what information.

Student Reaction to Teaching Approaches Advocated by Lecturers

Much of the information we have just reported on was based on data collected from second-year students.[29] As third-year students, we asked them if they were basically in sympathy with the classroom teaching methods advocated by the college. For at least 80% of students across the three colleges, the response was 'yes'. Students' reactions to the teaching approach advocated by lecturers included the following range of comments:

- Lecturers varied in the methods they advocated, but most approaches were acceptable to students.
- Students were anxious to develop their own teaching style and therefore did not rely entirely on the views of lecturers. Most lecturers acknowledged this, and encouraged students to experiment with a range of approaches.

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[29] *See* Renwick, M. and Vize, J. (1991) *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 2*, pp. 68-80.

- Students may have had trouble relating the 'theories' presented at college to the actual methods used in schools. They may have practised the approaches without recognising or using the 'labels'.
- Lecturers tended to be idealistic. The practices they advocated may be appropriate in a perfect world, but they could not always be applied in the real world of the classroom.
- Lecturers tended to favour their own subject and have unrealistic expectations of what teachers, responsible for all curriculum areas, can achieve.
- The approaches advocated by lecturers may be good, but students did not always get a chance to see them demonstrated in the classroom.
- Lecturers did not necessarily practise what they preached, for example, the value of an integrated curriculum.

Students' Professional Development During the College Course

When we interviewed students in their third year, we asked them how they felt their professional skills had developed. We reminded them that when we had surveyed them before they started training, most thought they already possessed at least some of the qualities and skills necessary to be a good teacher. In terms of becoming a classroom teacher, what difference did they feel their training had made to them?

Here as elsewhere, students emphasised how important they considered the skills and abilities they brought with them to college, including prior recreational, work, and family experiences and knowledge of how children learn. Many expressed their love of, and commitment to, children and teaching from an early age. The influence of family members, particularly mothers who were also classroom teachers, may still be a point of reference ahead of most college lecturers.

A few students who on entering college thought that they had a range of skills and abilities necessary to become good teachers now realised that some of these were not necessarily appropriate. For example, students who had coached sports teams, working mainly with adults, now realised that working with children is different in some respects and they have had to rethink their approaches.

Other students referred to their general personal development, particularly their increased maturity and confidence. In the words of one student:

> I would say all over in confidence - confidence and self-growth. It's not just me, but a lot of people you've seen, they're fairly shy when they come in and by the end of the third year they're a lot more outgoing, more confident, more sure of themselves. (Auckland)

This personal confidence was often linked to increased confidence in the classroom:

> I can remember going on my first section and I just didn't really even want to be there. Now I really enjoy going into classrooms ... I feel a lot more confident. That definitely grew over sole charge. Once things start happening and the other teacher leaves the room, it's a sudden realisation that you are the teacher. I came home one day and said to my husband, "You know, I can do it!" It's been easier since then. (Wellington)

Most students who referred to their personal development commented on their increase in confidence. There were, however, a few who said their experiences during training, particularly on teaching practice sections, had made them less confident. This was usually because they thought they had good skills with children when they came into college, but now that they realised how complex and responsible teaching was, they were more diffident about their ability to do well. This was particularly the case with students who were perfectionist in their wish to be 'good' teachers, or those who did not realise how much they did not know when they came to college.

Students linked the personal skills they believed they had on entering college with the development of professional skills during their training. One of the older students we interviewed commented:

> College focuses your awareness of various issues, like the need to cope with each individual child ... I always had a respect for the idea that children should be treated as individuals, but respect isn't enough. My ideals were right but now I've got the equipment to deal with it as well. I've the knowledge to be able to handle the situation. So I think college has given me the tools, that's what it's done. ... On the emotional, moral side I haven't developed at all really. I've stayed the same. I went into teaching for a certain reason - it wasn't as if I came straight from school. But there's no way I had the tools before I came here. (Auckland)

Other comments referring to students' general professional development included:

- Growth in 'professional' attitudes and the need for 'professional conduct'.
- 'Loving children' is not enough.
- An ability to acknowledge one's own mistakes and limitations.
- The ability to keep an open mind - that your opinion is not the only one that counts - and to be adaptable.
- Awareness that 'the system' has changed since students were at school.
- Accountability to parents, boards of trustees, and the community, including sensitivity to cultural differences.

- A more realistic appreciation of how much a classroom teacher can actually achieve - the 'reality' of teaching.
- An awareness of the 'politics' of education.
- An awareness that, although they have learnt much through the college course, there is much still to learn - the need for on-going professional development.

The In-college Programme and Teaching Practice

When students singled out particular aspects of their professional development they tended to comment on one or more of the following:

- *Child development and how children learn:*

  Students were more likely to say they had gained this knowledge through personal experience, classroom experience, and/or university courses, than through college courses. Some students acknowledged that they had been introduced to child development theories at college, but it was not until they observed children in the classroom that they felt their understanding was increased - thus indicating the importance of links between the colleges and schools.

  It was common across all colleges for students' awareness of individual differences between children and the need to cater for individual needs to have been heightened through college courses.

- *Knowledge of the curriculum: primary school syllabuses*

  It is difficult to summarise the range of student opinion about whether there had been sufficient emphasis in the college course on curriculum content and primary school syllabuses. The opinion in Auckland, for example, ranged from students who said there had been very little emphasis on curriculum content to those who said it had been very good. Not all students commented on the topic. Those who did tended to give examples of subjects where the coverage had been good.

- *Classroom management: discipline and control*

  Students were likely to say they had learnt a good deal about classroom management since they came to college and it was a mixture of input from college courses and practical experience in schools.

- *Planning and record keeping*

  Students were likely to say they had learnt more about short- and long-term planning and record keeping on section than at college, although some students also acknowledge the importance of college courses. (It may well be that procedures such as record keeping, an essential part of evaluating children's work and planning in the classroom, were dealt with more fully in the latter part of the final year.)

First Teaching Position

Initially it may appear strange to consider the students' first teaching position as influencing their reaction to their course of training while still in college. Those students who mentioned this issue had trouble thinking in the abstract about how well prepared they were to teach a class when they did not know the level and age of the children or the school within which the class would be. There was only so much the college could do. As one student put it:

> You don't know until you have a class of individual children just what they need, what their expectations are, what the expectation of the parents in the area are. All schools differ.... Children are always changing and you're never going to have the same 30 children at the same age as well, so it's experience - no matter how much theory you do, it really comes down to the experience I think. At least college can give you an awareness of what to expect. I think that's basically what they can do. Open your mind a bit. (Auckland)

Because neither the lecturers nor the students knew the age group students will be teaching, courses were less specific than some students would like.

Students' Key Beliefs About Education and Learning at the End of Training

Students' ideas about their role as classroom teachers obviously developed and changed during their time at college, influenced by both college courses and experiences in school. One of the key indicators was, as we have seen, their statements about the development of their views of how children learn. In an attempt to get an impression of student views at the end of their training, we asked the students through the final questionnaire, *What are your 'key beliefs' about education and learning?* The students had the opportunity to make three comments. Two hundred and thirty-nine students made a total of 424 comments. Sixty students chose not to answer this question. For some this was because of the difficulty of summarising their views. As one student put it, 'My philosophy says it, but it's 1000 words long'. Others wanted to wait until they got out into the classroom.

(No doubt others were simply tired of filling in the questionnaire and balked at this abstract question!)

The following is an attempt to summarise the students' key beliefs about education and learning:

- Classrooms should reflect the fact that the child is an individual learner
  - as children learn at individual rates and in different ways, teachers need different teaching strategies for different children
  - all children should feel that they are important and that it matters what they think, believe, and feel
  - children should be encouraged to develop personal strengths and take increasing responsibility for their own learning
  - all children need to feel confident and to experience success as the basis for further learning

- Classroom programmes and the curriculum
  - children are keen to learn
  - integrated, investigative, co-operative approaches are best; co-operation is preferable to competition
  - programmes should be 'holistic', for example, they should consider children's physical, social, academic, and spiritual development
  - programmes need to be balanced, including the full range of curriculum areas
  - programmes should provide the opportunity for children to experiment and take risks
  - the learning experiences provided for children should be stimulating, challenging, and thought-provoking
  - goals which are set for children, or which they set themselves, need to be realistic
  - activities must be practical, relevant, and related to children's experiences and the 'real world'
  - classroom programmes should be as pleasurable as possible; children learn better when they have fun
  - there needs to be on-going evaluation and assessment of children's progress.

- Equality of educational opportunity
  - all children are equal and have a right to education regardless of gender, and ethnic and social background
  - education should be free
  - all children should be encouraged to understand children of the opposite sex, and children from different cultural, ethnic, and social backgrounds

- The quality of the educational environment
  - children learn best in a supportive, secure, and caring environment where people are friendly and positive

- The role and commitment of the teacher
  - teachers are role models and must be enthusiastic about all aspects of education
  - teachers need to enjoy teaching and care about children; teaching is more than just a 'job'
  - teachers are facilitators and guides to learning and can offer opportunities for learning to take place
  - 'learning' occurs regardless of 'teaching', but a teacher can facilitate and enhance the degree of 'learning'
  - a good teacher is a good learner; teachers are learners as well as educators

- Education is the key to personal development, future jobs and a better society
  - education is the 'key' to all aspects of life and a good education system is the basis of a good society; education improves the quality of people's lives.
  - education is important in today's world; to be part of contemporary society, children need to be developed academically, socially, and culturally
  - children need to be provided with the basic skills to get jobs
  - the education system must be able to anticipate the future needs of the country and then provide the learning situations that will allow them to be met

- Education is lifelong; it occurs inside and outside the classroom

- Home/school relationships
  - school, home, and community all contribute to a child's learning

- teachers need to be accountable to their clients - the families and school they are representing

It was interesting, in reading the students' comments, to reflect on what was *not* mentioned, as well as what was. Relatively few students referred to education and its role in society. The major focus was definitely on the development of the individual - a child-centred, individual development model, rather than one that emphasised group or social responsibility and co-operation with others. There were many comments on appropriate approaches to learning and teaching, but very few on curriculum content. There was almost no mention of behaviour and discipline.

A 'Good' Teacher

We have seen that students in training believed the teacher played a key role in children's learning, but what was their perception of a 'good' teacher? This was an issue which surfaced at several points in the course of our study, but not one for which we found conclusive answers.

Firstly, on entry to college, students were asked to list up to six qualities and abilities they thought members of the interview panel were looking for. Students clearly believed that the selection panel was most interested in the personal skills and abilities they would bring to the course (44% of responses), followed by their communication skills (16%), and wide experience and involvement in cultural, sporting, and social activities (9%). These views mirrored the guidelines laid out for selection panels at the time.[30] Prospective students had to meet certain academic requirements in order to be selected, but it is interesting to note that only 4% of the students' responses referred to a belief that selection panels were concerned with academic attainment. In the same initial survey, we asked students on entry to college for their views of a 'good' teacher; by far the majority of answers, accounting for nearly half the total number of student responses (48%), showed that the students viewed personal qualities as the most important determinants of a 'good' teacher. Next, but of far less importance, were communication skills (17%), a knowledge of teaching methods (16%), and skill in curriculum areas (5%). The personal qualities considered particularly important were: patience; sense of humour; understanding; confidence; and enthusiasm.

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[30] *See* Department of Education (1985) "Training and Certification of Teachers" in *Administration Manual, Part C, Teachers*, Vol. 1; Chapt. 9, (para. C9.14.4).

Students were also asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1-5 as to their competence in these areas. The majority of ratings (76%) were at 1 or 2 on the scale. Very few ratings (3%) were at the 4 or 5 levels. In other words, on entering college students believed they already possessed in large measure the personal qualities and abilities necessary to be a 'good' teacher.[3]

A College View of What Makes a 'Good' Teacher

When we began our study, we assumed that, in an institution concerned with teacher education, there must be a view of the qualities and skills needed to be an effective primary school teacher. We also assumed that these qualities and skills would be implicit or explicit in the aims of the institution and conveyed to students through the lecture programme and other experiences they had at the college. Furthermore, as our own study was concerned with factors which contributed to variation in student progress through their course of training and out into the classroom, we needed to have some definition of a successful student and teacher - certainly some criteria by which to judge their experience. In the second year of the study, we asked the students in our interview sample if they were aware of a college view of what makes a good teacher. For all colleges the majority of students did *not* think that there was a college view of what makes a good teacher. (There were differences by college. Students in Wellington were more likely than those in Christchurch and Auckland to believe that the college did have a view of what makes a good teacher. In Auckland, fewer than half the number of students, compared with the other two colleges, thought the college had such a view.)

We realise that the question was a difficult one for students to answer, partly because of problems students may have had with the concept of a 'good' teacher; but also because of difficulty in defining 'the college'. As the study progressed we became increasingly aware that although students were part of an institution, they tended to judge their training very much by their own personal experiences with individual lecturers. We were not surprised then when the most usual reason for students saying that there was not a college view, or being unsure, was that it was 'up to the individual lecturer', or 'it varies slightly from lecturer to lecturer', or 'everybody has a different view'. Students were divided between those who thought this lack of a college view was acceptable, because 'it's good for everyone to have different views', and those who thought the lack of a college view was simply a reflection of the fact that the college had not articulated one.

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[3] Brookhart and Freeman (1992) refer to a study by Weinstein who found that entering teacher candidates tend to identify as important qualities for teachers the same characteristics they list as their own strengths. She used the label, *unrealistic optimism*, to describe the high levels of confidence among entry-level candidates. She found that entering teacher candidates rate themselves as above average for nearly all teaching skills but that their ratings decrease after the introductory course. (p. 48)

The students who thought there was a college view of what makes a 'good' teacher indicated what they thought this was. Their responses tended to fall into two broad categories: the personal qualities of the teacher, and skills related more particularly to classroom practice. However, it was not always possible to distinguish between the two. There were also isolated references to the need for teachers to continue their own education and improve their qualifications. The following is a summary of those skills and abilities most often referred to by students:

Personal qualities

- good communication skills, articulate,
- good personal relationships, particularly with children; friendly and approachable but still 'the teacher'; firm; warm and caring,
- confident,
- enthusiastic,
- patient,
- adaptable and flexible,
- tolerant and open-minded,
- reliable,
- honest and fair; able to admit to not knowing the answer; not opinionated,
- dedicated and committed; prepared to give up own time,
- non-threatening,
- creative,
- fit and healthy,
- resourceful, and
- possessing a sense of humour.

Classroom practice:

- aware of and able to cater for individual differences, including ethnic and gender differences, and for children with special needs; activities appropriate for age group,
- have clear objectives,
- able to plan and evaluate,

- have effective and varied teaching strategies, including the ability to start from where the children are and to provide plenty of 'hands-on' experiences,
- provide a stimulating and creative classroom programme,
- able to motivate children and keep them on task,
- encourage children to be independent learners,
- demonstrate good classroom organisation, management, and control,
- exercise fair but friendly discipline,
- set a high standard for children,
- provide a programme to suit class,
- have clear goals so that children know what is expected of them,
- be a self-evaluating teacher, and
- be culturally aware and provide a culturally sensitive programme.

The list of skills and abilities is interesting both for what it includes and for what it does not include. The strong views students held on entry to college about the paramount importance of a teacher's personal qualities were reaffirmed. However, student views have undoubtedly been enlarged to focus on important aspects of classroom practice, including appropriate teaching techniques, management skills, planning and evaluation, and cultural sensitivity. The surprising omission was any reference to a knowledge of the curriculum or subject content. Reading the student responses, one had the feeling that the 'good' teacher possessed a range of personal characteristics and was a warm caring person, sensitive to individual children's needs, who planned and executed an appropriate and effective classroom programme, but mastery of curriculum content tended not to be mentioned. This may have been so taken for granted that it did not need to be stated.[32]

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[32] The student views tend to confirm findings from an earlier NZCER study (McDonald *et al.* 1989) when school principals, deputy principals and junior school teachers were asked to identify the qualities they thought important in a good junior school teacher. In the analysis of the data the researchers identified three ideal types:

(1) The mother model - characterised by personal qualities such as sympathy and love for children, warmth of personality, and personal maturity.
2) The instructor model - the teacher who has a thorough knowledge of the curriculum and the skills to impart this knowledge.
3) The manager model - the teacher who is an effective manager of time, space, material resources, and personnel.

Nearly two-thirds of the sample valued qualities which reflected a mix of models. Almost invariably, however, the common element in the mixed characterisation was the mother model. Eighty-seven percent reported the importance of qualities associated with this model. (p. 63)

Other researchers (Brook (1983) and Weinstein (1990), quoted in Brookhart and Freeman

The Beginning Teachers and Effective Schools

When we interviewed the 100 beginning teachers in our sample, we asked them if they thought the school where they were teaching was an effective school, and why they regarded the school as they did. We asked the question because we realised that the class and school in which beginning teachers found themselves was an important influence on their development as classroom teachers. When we had questioned them as third-year students about how they thought their professional skills had developed, some had trouble thinking in the abstract about how well prepared they were to teach a class, before they knew the level and age of children they would be teaching and the school within which their class would be. The class and school would be an important influence on their development as effective teachers.

The majority of the beginning teachers thought they were teaching in an effective school. This was so for all but one of the Christchurch beginning teachers, and for 75% to 80% of those teaching in Auckland and Wellington. However, only six beginning teachers in all said they were *not* teaching in an effective school. The rest merely had reservations or added qualifying remarks.[33]

The comments of the beginning teachers who thought they were teaching in an effective school were frequently very enthusiastic - 'wonderful, never want to leave' or 'best possible school you could be in!' Their responses tended to fall into one or more of the following categories:

- The teachers, including:

(1992)) have noted that most candidates entering teacher education tend to emphasise the value of interpersonal aspects of teaching and minimise the importance of academic goals of schooling. (p. 50)

[33] The only information we have about the schools in which the beginning teachers were teaching was what we gained from the beginning teachers themselves. We do not know if schools where beginning teachers are employed differ from those where there are no beginning teachers. At the time our study began, beginning teachers were placed in their first teaching position and schools had no choice as to whether or not they accepted a beginning teacher. This situation had changed by the time the students in our cohort had completed their training and they were among the first to have to compete with more experienced teachers for jobs. There are presumably advantages and disadvantages in employing beginning teachers and it may be that the boards of trustees and staff in schools with certain characteristics, for example a keen interest in staff development, are more prepared than others to employ a beginning teacher.

- excellent staff relationships: staff support and care for each other; co-operating as a close-knit team - there is no talking behind backs
- the staff enjoy the school
- the atmosphere of the school is 'alive', 'relaxed', and 'comfortable'
- the excellence of individual teachers: teachers are professional and dedicated
- staff 'care about kids', are concerned for pupil progress and success, and have good relationships with children
- excellent support for beginning teachers; good role models

- The programme, including:
    - children are the school's top priority: child-centred, catering for and empowering individual children, including children with special needs
    - needs-based: children are learning and experiencing success
    - caters for children from a range of ethnic groups; appropriate to the community
    - well balanced; good overall education
    - up-to-date methods
    - high standards set and expected: systematic evaluation, thorough monitoring of children
    - wide range of extracurricular, lunchtime, and out-of-school activities
    - well equipped with up-to-date resources

- Leadership, management and administration, including:
    - excellent leadership from the principal and senior staff - committed to school, staff, and children
    - positive environment; a 'good place to work'
    - school well organised and run; efficient administration
    - responsibilities shared by staff
    - consultative management
    - plenty of opportunities for staff development
    - well resourced
    - the school has clear objectives and goals which are adhered to
    - good school discipline

- Children
    - are happy, 'smile and love school'
    - are keen to learn; easy to handle
    - have high self-esteem and are 'proud of their work'

A few beginning teachers also spoke of children with behaviour problems. Other children, for whom English was a second language, were not problems in themselves but made the teaching task of the beginning teacher more complex.

- Parents and the community, including:
  - good relationships between staff, board of trustees, and community
  - open-door policy; parents are kept well informed
  - very honest with the community who know what they can expect from the school; serves particular community well
  - parents support the school; there is a lot of parental help available

The minority who thought they were *not* teaching in an effective school or had some reservations raised similar issues. The critical comments tended to be one-off remarks and sometimes referred to changes in the pipeline. These related to:

- Staff
  - some staff had been teaching at the school for too long and were 'just part of the furniture'
  - staff not sufficiently committed; not sufficiently concerned with children's development
  - backstabbing and jealousies among staff
  - staff did not sufficiently reflect the ethnic mix of the pupils
- School and classroom programmes
  - a conservative school, not receptive to new ideas; out-of-date and inappropriate teaching methods
  - staff and sections of school isolated from each other; lack of collaborative planning
  - not all children catered for, and encouraged to reach their potential, for example, the gifted; middle class children not extended
  - inadequate resources
  - aspects of school life not appropriate for some ethnic groups, for example, the name of the school for Maori pupils
- Leadership, management and administration
  - leadership from the principal was weak, inefficient, or lacked flexibility
  - hierarchical, dominant school leadership; did not allow for other staff, particularly younger teachers, to have much say

- principal keeps wonderful statistics, but not good on people skills
- too many rules and regulations
- unclear lines of responsibility
- inconsistent or poor school discipline
- insufficient pupil input into decision making - 'our school and how we can improve it'
- anti-attitudes towards parents; inadequate public relations - ideas introduced by the school not being accepted by the community

Individual beginning teachers mentioned that

- teaching in a bilingual school meant constant interruptions to the programme for visitors and for powhiri
- the fact that the school was not effective was reflected in an adverse Education Review Office report

Discussion

There is a vast literature on the characteristics of the 'good' teacher, learning and teaching, and effective schools, which we do not intend to comment on here apart from referring to a few studies which help to place the views of the students and beginning teachers in this study in a broader context.

The 'Good' Teacher

All colleges write profiles of graduating students. The headings used by staff in describing students reflect the personal qualities and professional skills considered necessary in graduating students. These include: personal professional qualities; interpersonal relationships; knowledge of the curriculum; teaching techniques and management skills; planning and preparation. Lists also abound in the populist as well as more scholarly journals of the qualities and abilities which graduating students should possess and which are necessary to be a good teacher. Different lists have different labels, but most are a mix of personal qualities and professional skills. In one example, the British report *School-based Initial Teacher Training in England and Wales*, prepared for the Department of Education and Science in 1991, states that before trainee teachers take up their first teaching posts they need:

> … a good knowledge of the subjects they are to teach, a confident grasp of a range of teaching methods, and a sufficient understanding of child development and school organisation to make an effective start to their careers. (p. 7)

The weighting placed on the personal qualities necessary to be a good teacher is a subject of study in itself. In stressing at various stages of our study the importance of their own personal characteristics, our students are certainly in good company. Levis (1987) comments that 'There has long been strong popular support for the view that the qualities of teacher personality are important determinants of successful teaching' (p. 585). However, having examined the literature which serves to illustrate the difficulties of research in this area he concluded that 'very little is known about the relation between teacher personality and teacher effectiveness' (p. 589).

McNamara (1986) is also sceptical of the emphasis placed on the overriding importance of personal qualities in making judgments about teachers and teaching. He quotes Catell, who published a paper as early as 1931 on assessing teacher ability, having surveyed various groups charged with making assessments of teachers' performance such as school inspectors and head teachers. Heading the list of the qualities they nominated of a good teacher were 'personality', 'intelligence', 'sympathy', and 'sense of humour' while well down the rank order were qualities such as 'classroom technique' and 'knowledge of subject'. He also quotes Getsels and Jackson, who in 1963 surveyed some 800 studies examining the link between teacher personality and its relationship with teaching, and concluded that the impressive number of studies had done little except to demonstrate that 'good teachers are friendly, cheerful, sympathetic and morally virtuous rather than cruel, depressed, unsympathetic and morally depraved. The continuing flood of research has not solved the problem but made us even more aware of the dangers entailed within it'. (p. 33)

McNamara (1986) quotes Stephens (1967), whom he regards as presenting 'one of the most intellectually coherent treatments of the problem' of linking the personal qualities of the teacher to effective teaching (p. 33). Stephens

> … argues that the crucial personal quality of the teacher is that he [*sic*] must be taken seriously by children and attended to by them, as such: He can be loved. He can be admired. He can be feared. He cannot be disregarded. People whom adults do not necessarily approve of may well be effective teachers in terms of certain nominated criteria. (p.98)

Stephens's belief that teachers may be feared and still be effective is interesting in the light of the firm view of the students in our study that children must enjoy school and that learning must be fun. We suggested earlier that we consider this to be a culture-bound view.

In view of the emphasis in the research literature and the beliefs of the students in our study about the personal qualities needed to be a good teacher, it is interesting to look at the requirements for teacher registration in New Zealand. There are no references to personal qualities. However, *before* applying for registration a teacher has to fulfil the criteria for registration of a teacher, namely to be of good character and fit to be a teacher in terms of possessing a range of personal qualities, such as being temperamentally suited to teaching. It is assumed that those entering teaching for the first time will have been assessed during training where it will have been established that they possess these personal qualities.[34]

The Registration Board determines that a satisfactory teacher is, or is likely to be, a person who:

i) enables and encourages pupils to learn

ii) has competence in the New Zealand curriculum

iii) has appropriate teaching techniques and pupil management skills

iv) plans and prepares programmes of work

v) contributes towards the work of the school ... as a whole.[35]

As if in confirmation of this position, when we interviewed the beginning teachers in the classroom they rarely referred to their personal qualities and abilities. It was as though these could now be taken for granted, and their current focus was on classroom planning, establishing the management systems necessary to get a class up and running, and developing teaching programmes in the 'three Rs' which were capable of catering for the needs of the individual children in their class. To the extent that it was possible to judge personal qualities through the interview process over a three-year period, we came to the conclusion that most students were justified in their belief that they possessed most of the personal qualities necessary to be a good teacher on entry to college. The personal

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[34] *The Registration of Teachers in New Zealand* (1991) Teacher Registration Board (p. 42-43), Wellington.

[35] "Becoming Fully Registered" (1993) "A Satisfactory Teacher", Leaflet 5. Teacher Registration Board, Wellington.

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qualities they displayed confirmed the validity of the selection process. Once in the classroom, they displayed operational qualities which stemmed from these personal attributes.

Learning and Teaching

Haigh and Katterns (1984) from the University of Waikato tried to establish a set of principles on which to base a teacher education programme, and concluded that there was no 'universally applicable way of teaching that is effective with all kinds of learners in all kinds of learning situations' (p. 24). They established six working principles of effective teachers. Such teachers:

1. understand the conditions that help or hinder learning, and make sensitive use of this knowledge in their planning, teaching, and evaluation activities;

2. examine their own and others' beliefs concerning the nature of effective teaching;

3. recognise that while there is no one best way to teach, research has identified significant conditions that increase the probability of learning;

4. understand that teachers cannot be fully accountable for student learning, since not all conditions of learning are controllable;

5. possess sensitive control of a repertoire of teaching modes, together with the strategies and skills associated with these modes; and

6. appreciate that since there are no recipes for effective teaching and curriculum development, these are necessarily experimental activities in which teachers assume the role of researcher. (p. 25)

Teachers must adopt a 'self-enquiry stance', learn to manage those conditions of learning that can be readily arranged, attempt to influence the less manageable conditions, and take into account those conditions that appear to be beyond teacher control. Effective teachers make their own inquiries into their own control of a teaching repertoire. They need to work conscientiously at researching their own teaching. Student teachers need to adopt a similar approach from the beginning of their teacher training.

Kirkman (1990) describes a new teacher-training project at Exeter University which is attempting to define the skills all competent primary teachers need and is encouraging students to take a more analytical approach to their teaching. Using American research into the effectiveness of teachers' and lecturers' experiences in primary schools, staff have devised a set of criteria to guide students: ethos; direct instruction; management of materials; guided practice; structured conversation; monitoring; management of order; planning and preparation; and written evaluation. Each dimension has eight specific objectives which mark the progress and increasing professionalism of the student. One of the main benefits is that students have clear criteria by which to judge their performance. Students are encouraged to be reflective about their performance, to set their own goals, and monitor their own progress. The scheme depends on close co-operation with associate teachers, who work with the student to prepare an agenda for the dimension the student is hoping to concentrate on.

Effective Schools

Most of the school effectiveness research has been carried out in secondary schools. One exception is the work of Mortimore *et al.* (1988),[36] who carried out a study between 1980 and 1984 in 50 inner London schools focusing on the junior years of primary schools. They found that much of the variation between schools in their effects on pupils' progress and development was explained by differences in policies and practices, and by certain school characteristics, such as size, stability of teaching staff, and physical environment, over which the school staff had little control. The researchers went on to identify 12 key factors which *were* in the control of school principals and teachers, and which contributed to positive learning outcomes for children. They were:

- Purposeful leadership of the staff by the head teacher,
- The involvement of the deputy head; sharing of responsibilities with the head teacher,
- The involvement of teachers in curriculum planning and decision making,
- Consistency amongst teachers,
- Structured sessions,
- Intellectually challenging teaching,
- Work-centred environment,
- Limited focus within sessions,
- Maximum communication between teachers and pupils,
- Record keeping,
- Parental involvement, and

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[36] Mortimore, P., *et al.* (1988) *School Matters: the junior years*, p. 250.

- Positive climate.

The authors go on to say that 'These are not a "recipe" for effective junior schooling, but they can provide a framework within which the various partners in the life of the school - head teacher and staff, parents and pupils and governors - can operate.'

In another article, Mortimore (1991) discusses the issue of the relative influence of home background and schooling. All pupils are subject to both family and school influences. Mortimore defines an effective school 'as one where pupils progress further than might be expected' (p. 5). Given the views of the students in our study about the importance of home background, particularly in terms of school failure, it is interesting to note that both Mortimore and also Tizard *et al.* (1988), found that whilst *attainment* was influenced heavily by the home background, *progress* was more likely to be influenced by schooling.

In the recent report entitled *Australia's Teachers*, prepared by the Schools Council (1990), a summary of those consistent findings about 'effective' schools are listed (p. 72). Good schools have:

- A strong sense of purpose and a commitment to that purpose: the school as a whole knows what it is about and has clear goals and high expectations, both academic and behavioural, which are shared among staff and communicated to students through staff behaviour and feedback to students, as well as through explicit statements.
- Good leadership, often described as 'strong' leadership.
- The staff working collegially and sharing in decision making, at least in the sense that they feel they have a say about important issues which concern their work.
- Intellectually challenging teaching and a climate of respect for academic achievement.
- A climate of order and security.
- Community support.

To move closer to home, Ramsay *et al.* (1987) reported on a study they carried out in eight schools in the south Auckland region, in an attempt to 'analyse some of the factors which seem to promote effective schooling' (p. 2). All the schools, which included primary and secondary schools, had a high proportion of children who came from low socio-economic status families, and 75% were Polynesian. The researchers emphasised that the eight schools were 'highly idiosyncratic, and there was a considerable range of practices *within* as well as *between* schools'. They identified eight characteristics which seemed to distinguish the 'successful' from the 'less successful' schools:

1. A clearly articulated philosophy or statement of goals, including teachers being expected to educate children with a positive emphasis on achievement and success; firm management, but with an emphasis on avoiding confrontation and on the multicultural nature of the children.
2. Clear patterns of communication between staff.
3. Firm but democratic decision-making procedures.
4. Records of pupil progress maintained.
5. Harmonious home-school relationships and good use of community resources.
6. Well-developed and much-used resources.
7. An enhanced school environment.
8. A supportive, caring environment.

The labels we used in summarising the comments made by the beginning teachers in our study about the effectiveness of their schools differ from those used in the studies just quoted, but the messages they conveyed were remarkably consistent. From their perspective at this particular point in time - their first year in the classroom - the beginning teachers were very aware of the skills of more experienced teachers, and it is not surprising that they were more likely to refer to the professionalism of their colleagues than to the leadership and management styles of the principal. These were also singled out as important, but they were also less likely to be mentioned than the appropriateness of the classroom programmes offered to children in the school - also an understandable response from beginning teachers, whose top priority was to establish an effective classroom programme themselves.

Through their interviews, most of the beginning teachers also indicated that they were working in ways that would have contributed to the effectiveness of the schools in which they were teaching according to the characteristics typically identified in the literature about effective schools - for example, accepting leadership from more experienced teachers while also displaying leadership qualities within the classroom and sometimes within the school; and working co-operatively with colleagues. One of the most interesting developments in primary schools over the last 20 years is the extent to which teachers now teach co-operatively in a public relationship with other teachers. Most of these beginning teachers assumed that they would work in this way, at least some of the time, and those who did not have the opportunity to do so, expressed their disappointment.[37] In their critical comments about aspects of their school they did not consider to be effective, beginning teachers also referred to qualities identified in the school effectiveness literature - weak leadership, or hierarchical models of leadership; lack of staff commitment and collaborative planning; children not extended; and poor relationships between the school and the community.

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[37] The collegial approach experienced by many of the beginning teachers in this study is in marked contrast with findings from a much earlier study of year one, two, and three teachers. Doyle (1975) comments that 'One of the complicating factors in adjustment to teaching is clearly the isolated nature of the work. Much of the day is spent away from colleagues and the limited contact with colleagues which does occur is usually made in the staffroom, hardly an appropriate place to bring forward an individual teacher's professional problems.' (p. 12)

ASSESSMENT

Over the period of our study, New Zealand has been part of a worldwide trend to focus attention on 'standards' in education. The question of educational standards and how effectively these are monitored has been an important part of the wider debate throughout the 1980s on the issue of accountability (Croft, 1991). Despite evidence to the contrary, there was a widely held public perception that educational standards had declined, leading to a demand for those involved in education to be more accountable for the public money spent on education (Irving, 1991).

Colleges of education were not exempt from scrutiny in terms of accountability and standards. At the time of our study, there were criticisms of colleges in terms of the light workload of students, the standard of work expected, and the methods used to assess student work. We were asked to look at assessment in the colleges as part of our project because officers of the then Department of Education were concerned that:

- Standards required to obtain a Diploma in Teaching were not made explicit enough by the colleges.
- Assessment procedures in colleges were not explicit enough and too many subjective decisions were being made about student competence to teach.
- Where standards were defined, they were not strictly kept to.

Whilst one principal commented to us that these complaints had never been made directly to colleges, there seems to have been a degree of acceptance of their validity.

- All colleges believe they are being more stringent in their standards of student assessment and, in an increasingly competitive market are more prepared to fail or

> counsel out students they do not consider will make successful classroom teachers. (Renwick, 1993, p.51)

This implies an acknowledgement that there was room for improved standards in the colleges.

The desire for greater accountability has led to demands for educational institutions to show that they are doing what they say they do. The ongoing debate over the aims of assessment has led to the identification of three possible purposes for assessment in the context of education:

- accountability,
- the award of credentials, and
- an aid to learning.

There is still considerable debate over the desirability and compatibility of these three purposes in various contexts, the proponents of one often being implacably opposed to the same assessment being used for the others. When we looked at assessment in the colleges, it was the conflicts between these three purposes which provided the context for what we found. In broad terms government officials wanted accountability, the students wanted credentials, and the college lecturers wanted to use assessment as an aid to student learning. It was obviously not always so clear cut - students also saw the need for their assessments to aid their learning, and the college lecturers acknowledged the need for graduating students to have a worthwhile credential; but the major emphasis of assessment differed for each group.

We do not claim to have conducted an exhaustive study of the issue of assessment in colleges of education. In an attempt to set the students' comments in context, we also looked at the assessment policies of the three colleges in our study, and at actual assessments made of students as they proceeded through the course. Ministry officials hoped we would be able to track a sample of students through their college courses, and look at the assessments the college was making of their performance. It was assumed that we would be able to make some judgments about whether the students were performing up to expectations, using, as a predictor of performance, the evaluation of students carried out when college selections were made. It was not possible to do this in the way that was envisaged, for three reasons:

- the nature of the student intake,
- the purpose of assessment at the colleges, and

- changes to college assessment practices.

The Nature of the Student Intake

Our experience of the cohort of students in our study suggests that in terms of the selection criteria used at that time, they were of high quality. Many students had higher than the minimum academic qualifications required. Interview panels also looked for personal qualities and previous experience which they felt indicated a student's teacher potential.

The process used for selecting our cohort of students was subject to some criticism at the time, and changes have been made since then, but throughout our study we have been impressed with the calibre of the students. Given the quality of the applicants to the colleges, one could reasonably assume that most, if not all, of the selected students were capable of becoming good teachers.

The Purposes of Assessment at the Colleges

The college policies on assessment lean heavily towards formative assessment, and are geared towards helping the student learn to be a teacher.[38] This means that assessments made about students are not always in a form that would enable us to judge the students' performance in relation to their peers or to their qualifications on entry.

The Nature of Assessment at the Colleges

The purpose of assessment affects its nature at the colleges. Many of the courses at the three colleges are pass/fail courses. Course marks do not indicate how well a student has performed on the course, merely whether they have passed or failed. Where assessment for courses is criteria-based, it is possible to make comparisons of student performance. However, as students take a range of courses to fulfil their college requirements it is difficult to compare assessment between colleges or between students. Each student is likely to be enrolled in a different series of courses. Each college has a mixture of compulsory and optional courses. Each department decides, within the college policy on assessment, how its courses are to be graded. Within some departments the decision is left to the individual lecturer, so that there can be a mixture of graded and pass/fail courses in some departments. Nor have course assessment procedures remained static over the three years of our study. Changes have been made as colleges go through the process of clarifying their assessment procedures. Students have given us examples of assessment for the same course changing from year to year. For some students a course has been assessed as pass/fail and for others it has been graded.

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[38] *See* also Renwick, M. and Vize, J. (1991) *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 2. Appendices.*

Students' performance on section is also assessed. The section reports are designed to monitor students' progress in developing the skills necessary to be a good teacher. Teaching skills are identified on the report; the associate teacher is asked to look at each student at the beginning of the section and again at the end, and say whether there has been any improvement. Associates are expected to help the student improve. Assessment is clearly intended to be formative, and associate teachers do not attempt to make summative judgments about the trainees' skills, although they are required to make some statement about what is 'satisfactory'.

The colleges, however, have mechanisms to identify students whose performance is not satisfactory. A number of students at each college resigned from the course, some because they had been identified as not suitable for teaching (*see* Table 2, p. 9). Staff meetings held twice a year are important mechanisms for the colleges to monitor student performance on the course. At these meetings staff look at each student's course marks and performance on section. If there are any concerns, students are contacted and involved in any decision to resolve the problem. A student may decide, sometimes with the encouragement of the college, to resign.

How Students Felt About Assessment Practices at the Colleges

When we started to ask the students questions about assessment, it became apparent that not only did the colleges differ from one another in the methods they used to assess students, but individual lecturers had different practices. Furthermore, colleges were in a state of flux, and changes in assessment procedures were implemented in all of the colleges during the study. The changes introduced were by and large made with a view to helping the students, and sometimes in response to student comment. However, it was not always easy for the students to appreciate the changes especially when they seemed to happen so quickly. Some students complained of a course they took being assessed one way for them, and a different way for colleagues who took it six weeks later; one student expressed the frustration of a number when he said, 'I don't care what system they use as long as they don't keep changing it'.

However, in spite of the confusion caused by the changing procedures, there were common themes. In the first interviews of students six months into their course, comments across the three colleges showed similar concerns about the assessment systems at the colleges:

- Courses were too easy to pass, and standards were not high enough.
- Not enough credit was given for time and effort spent on assignments - categories used for marking were too broad.
- Students found it difficult to know how they were doing - they would like more constructive criticism.
- Students found the marking between subjects inconsistent.

These concerns, identified in the first year, were consistently expressed throughout the remainder of the course. Some of the issues were more important in the first year and others grew in importance as the course progressed. For example, the desire for more formative assessment was strongest in the first year when students were embarking on their training, and were naturally more concerned about how they were measuring up as trainee teachers. As the course progressed and their confidence grew, they became more concerned with the usefulness of the assessments they received for the competition they knew they would face for jobs. The cohort of students in our study were the first to go through college without the guarantee of a job at the end. They had to compete for jobs with experienced teachers as well as other college graduates. Many of the students' comments on assessment reflect this changed environment. The college policies on assessment emphasised the use of assessment as an aid to student learning. Whilst still acknowledging the importance of this function, the students also expect the assessment system to provide them with -

- an accurate reflection of their performance, which is credible (especially to future employers), fair in relation to the talent and effort of other students, and seen to be measured against standards which are enforced (i.e., not undermined by an impression that no one fails);

- consistent assessment of their performance both within and between departments and preferably between colleges as well; and

- written documentation which will help them to compete successfully for jobs.

Because of changes to the system, students were seeing the need for the assessment systems to provide them with summative information, when in fact assessment in all three colleges was geared more to providing formative information. Colleges were certainly aware of this and made changes to try to meet student concerns. However, colleges still see the assessment system as providing above all an aid to student learning, whilst at the same time acknowledging that the system may have to accommodate other demands, including the students' need for summative information. Some of these demands are:

- The need to be accountable to the educational community and society for the the standard of teachers produced.
- The need to be accountable for taxpayers' money spent on training teachers.
- A desire to provide a model of assessment for students that can be taken into the primary classroom.

How Students Felt About Their Own Assessments at College

In all three colleges, students were generally happy with the assessments they themselves had received. Although they had some criticisms of the system, they felt that, with one or two exceptions, assessment procedures were applied fairly in their case. Most of the comments from students indicated that they would have liked assessments to have been tailored more to their individual development - to indicate how they were doing in particular courses and to suggest how they could improve. Students also commented that this process tended to occur more on teaching practice section, when it was common for associates to provide constructive criticism of students' teaching skills, based on observation of their teaching performance.

Students were also encouraged to learn the skills of self-assessment at college. The majority of students in the three colleges felt that they became more skilled at assessing themselves during the course. A few students were already able to do this from previous work experience, but in the main students gained the necessary skills and practice through the opportunities afforded to them by the college course. When we interviewed the students as beginning teachers, virtually all of those interviewed thought they had well-developed skills of self-appraisal. The attitude of the other staff in the school was important in terms of the support given to a beginning teacher to self-appraise. Where other staff regularly evaluate their own programmes and discuss their programmes with others, the beginning teacher is not singled out and comes to see self-appraisal as an integral part of the teaching process, and not just something they were required to do at college.

Assessment of Children

We asked students in the second-year interviews whether they had learnt anything about assessing children in the classroom. Most students were able to cite two or three courses, often more, where the assessment of children had been covered. Students were able to give a wide range of examples of what it was they had learnt, suggesting at this stage that they had learnt something about *how* to assess, but not much about *why* they should assess. Very few students offered comments which illustrated that, at this stage, they had dealt with anything more than the mechanics of assessment. In the early stages of their training, students learnt about assessment through learning how to assess particular curriculum courses. Reading and mathematics were the two main subjects mentioned, along with science, health, social studies, and physical education. It was only later in their training that specific courses on assessment were covered by education or professional studies courses.

In the final year of their training students were asked to indicate on a list of curriculum areas which three they felt most confident to assess, and which three they felt least confident to assess.

Table 12

Subjects Students Felt Most and Least Confident To Assess

Subjects	**Most** confident to assess % (N = 325)	**Least** confident to assess % (N = 325)
Reading	75	9
Mathematics	69	14
Physical education	48	10
Written language	43	8
Art	22	22
Social studies	26	18
Science	26	20
Oral language	23	10
Education outside the classroom	20	10
Music	19	36
Health	16	15
Maori	15	43
Drama	14	31
Computers in the classroom	13	39

- For most subjects, between 40% and 50% of students did not tick either category. The exceptions were reading and mathematics, where 80% of students responded. This compares with, for example, health, where only 33% of students responded.
- Students were more likely to tick subjects they felt confident to assess than those they did *not* feel comfortable to assess.
- Subjects which a large proportion of students felt confident about tended to be the ones that only a small proportion did *not* feel confident about, for example, reading and mathematics. The reverse, however, was not necessarily true.
- Reading and mathematics were two subjects that approximately 70% of the students felt *most* confident to assess. The well-developed nature of assessment techniques in these subject areas was referred to in our earlier report *(see Windows on Teacher Education:*

Phase 2, p. 109). Reading and mathematics are subjects with comprehensive primary school programmes which include details of the assessment and evaluation to be used at each stage.

- The areas that students felt *most* or *least* confident to assess were also the ones they were *most* or *least* looking forward to teaching (see p. 63). The exception was mathematics. Sixty-nine percent of students said they felt confident to assess mathematics, but only 38% of students said they were *most* looking forward to teaching the subject.
- There were some significant differences by college. No Christchurch students chose mathematics as one of the subjects they felt *least* confident to assess, $\chi^2 = 9.345$, $df = 2$, $p = .009$), and only one chose social studies ($\chi^2 = 7.279$, $df = 2$, $p = .026$).

When asked how confident they felt about assessing children's on-going progress and evaluating children's work in relation to other classroom tasks they would be expected to carry out as a teacher, 65% of students felt confident about evaluating children's work and 60% about assessing children's progress. More importantly, around a third of students did not feel confident about either of these two tasks (31% of students did not feel confident about evaluating children's work and 35% did not feel confident about assessing children's progress). Students at the end of their training did not feel as confident about assessment as they did about other classroom tasks.

Degree of Confidence in Assessing Children

By the time we interviewed beginning teachers in the third term of their first year of teaching, virtually all of them said they were confident to assess children's work. However, about half also made it clear that they had not been as confident at the beginning of the year. It took all beginning teachers time to get themselves up and running in the classroom. A number of them mentioned initial problems in setting up classroom programmes and maintaining control, but assessment was an area where many had difficulties. Their difficulties were usually for one of two reasons -

- they were not sufficiently confident about how to set up systems of assessment;
- they did not know what standard to expect from a particular age range of children.

In Wellington, one or two beginning teachers acknowledged help they had received from college lecturers and courses, but rather more were critical, saying they had not received the guidance they needed at college. In several cases, this was because college lecturers tended to regard evaluation, assessment, and monitoring of children's work as of secondary importance - an unhelpful attitude in the view of at least one beginning teacher, given the changed climate in schools, where more assessment of children is now expected. One or two Auckland beginning teachers would have liked more information from the college, particularly guidance as to how to get started at the beginning of the year, but most felt a teacher had to be in the classroom to learn how to implement assessment procedures. Christchurch beginning teachers made a similar point. Many of them commented that, perhaps more than with curriculum content or teaching methods, assessment was an area where confidence came only with experience.

Discussion

The cohort of students in this study trained at a time when methods of assessing students were in a state of flux, and the ways by which children in the classroom were assessed were also changing.

Students' concern for a credential which would help them secure a job was probably an understandable reaction to the fact that they were the first group of students to have to compete for jobs at the end of their training. Graduating students were uncertain about the usefulness of their college profile in getting them a job. However, the research of Cameron and Grudnoff (1993) indicates that principals used college profiles as only one of a number of factors in appointing a beginning teacher. Other factors which were equally if not more important included the presentation of the CV, referees' comments, the interview performance, the personality of the candidate, and how well he or she would fit into that particular school. Many principals found profiles useful for shortlisting, but also commented that they tended to be very similar, too general, or too positive to help them discriminate between applicants.

It is difficult to make any judgments about the cohort's knowledge of assessment in relation to students in past or future cohorts, or in relation to experienced teachers. It is also difficult to judge how well equipped they are to cope with the assessment demands of the new curricula due to start being implemented in 1994. Assessment was certainly one of the areas where beginning teachers felt least prepared for the classroom, especially in relation to other classroom tasks. On the other hand, most beginning teachers accepted that the colleges could not prepare them for every aspect of teaching, and many felt that they had to have some experience in the classroom in order to learn how to implement assessment procedures.

STUDENTS' PERSONAL BIOGRAPHIES

> 'The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows; ascertain this and teach him accordingly.' (Ausubel)

Our research study focused on the expectations, perceptions, and experiences of students undertaking courses of teacher education. We acknowledged in the introduction that the experiences students brought to the college were likely to be key influences on their later development as students and teachers. This is neither a new nor a novel idea. All students come to any learning situation with previously constructed ideas - or knowledge and beliefs - which help make sense of new information.

Some commentators have raised the question of the importance of a student's personal biography in influencing their success, both as a student and as a teacher. Munro (1987), for example, in a small series of case studies of secondary trainees in Auckland, noted that although teacher training programmes and school practice experience are frequently cited as major influences affecting the socialisation of teachers in training, his studies confirmed the view of others -

> ... that what trainees bring with them into training may well have more significant effects on their teaching behaviour than the training experience itself. In particular, trainees' dispositions towards teaching, relationship with pupils, and classroom management would appear to owe much to factors embedded in personal biography. (p. 1)

Other writers have suggested that the prior experience students have in educational institutions has a conservative effect on their own preparation to be teachers. This is not to say that training programmes are not also influential. Munro goes on to comment that if the students' personal biographies -

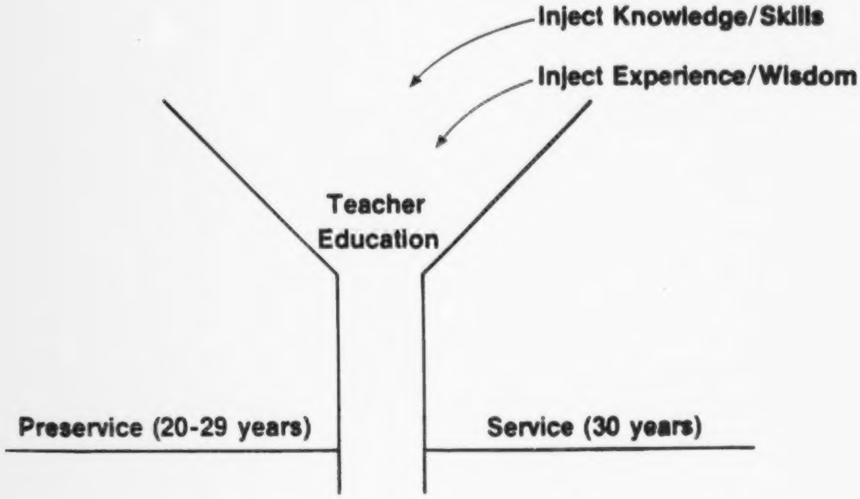
> … have resulted in well established dispositions which are critical of the status quo, and they have been reinforced, at least in part, within the training institutions or the schools, there is the real possibility that models alternative to the status quo, will continue to have a presence in our schools. (p. 6)

Similarly, Clandinin and Connelly (1991), writing from a Canadian background, believe that we 'compose our lives by inventing and reinventing ourselves again and again in response to a changing environment' (p.1). A narrative perspective of teachers' lives has helped them to see that '… many programmes, many ways of talking about teacher education, do not leave space for the stories that students and teachers live out in their lives'. In their view, the curriculum of teacher education is typically 'injected' into students, frequently ignoring the lives of the prospective teachers, when their lives should actually be central to the curriculum of teacher education. Teacher education was part of the 'ongoing story and restorying of students' lives'. Clandinin and Connelly use two models to demonstrate their view of teacher education as it is and how it should be (*see* Figure 8).

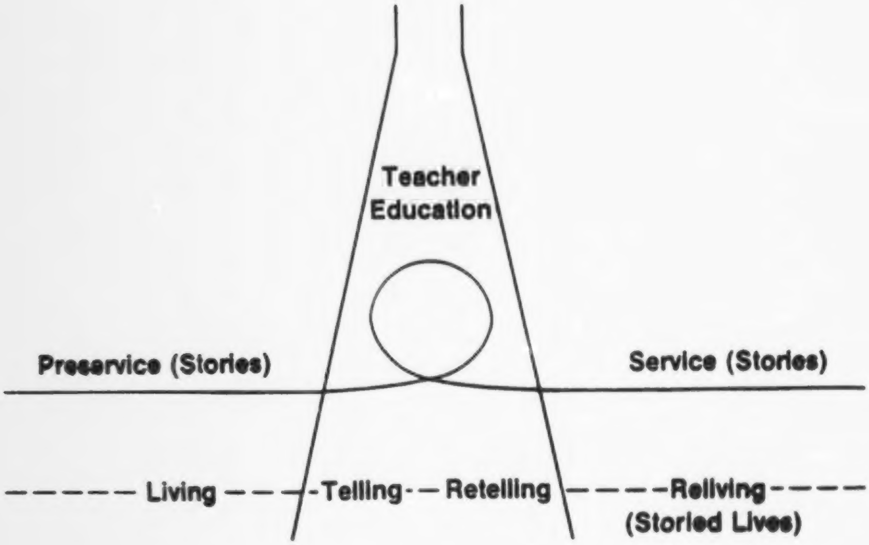
Figure 8

Teacher Education As Injection and As Reconstruction

Teacher Education As Injection



Teacher Education As Reconstruction



What Stories Did Our Data Tell Us?

Students on Entry to College

As mentioned in the introduction, most of the students entering the three colleges of education in our study were women (81%) and just over half were under 20 years of age. Three-quarters of them identified as Pakeha/European. The five most commonly referred-to occupations of the students' mothers were teacher, clerk, nurse, secretary/typist, or cleaner/home help. The five most commonly referred to occupation of the students' fathers were builder, engineer, managing director, carpenter, and farmer. Of the prospective students, 114 (20%) were themselves parents, and virtually all of these students thought their experiences as parents would be beneficial in the classroom.

Most prospective students had had previous work experiences which they thought would help them as a teacher, particularly in jobs dealing with other people - children and adults. Twenty-one percent had had previous experience in preschools or schools.

Prospective students also thought their previous school, family, and recreational experiences would contribute towards their skill as a teacher, particularly involvement in sport and cultural activities, their experiences of family life, and teaching experience through Sunday school, sport, or youth groups. A relatively high percentage of prospective students, 40% to 48%, said they had *not* read any books or articles on educational topics.

The Students as Individuals in College

On entry to college, students had a clear view that one of their responsibilities as a classroom teacher would be to attempt to cater for the individual needs of children in the classroom. We wondered to what extent they felt that college lecturers were applying this principle to them as students. When we interviewed the students in our interview sample in their first year, we asked them:

> *If one of the functions of a classroom teacher is to look at each child as an individual and cater for individual needs, do you consider that this principle is being applied to you during your training?*

The proportion of students who considered that they were treated as individuals varied from college to college. In Auckland and Wellington the students were almost equally likely to think they were or were *not* being treated as individuals. In Christchurch, however, students who believed they were *not* being treated as individuals outnumbered those who believed that they were by almost two to one. Regardless of college:

- Students who thought they were treated as individuals tended to do so because the lecturers were friendly and approachable. Lecturers were willing to help with individual needs if the students went to them.

- Students who did *not* think they were treated as individuals tended to do so because classes were handled as a whole for teaching purposes.

Other factors were:

- It was hard to generalise because so much depended on individual lecturers and students and the particular courses they undertook. This was the reason for the number of students who found it difficult to commit themselves to a definite yes or no answer.

- Much depended on class and group size, although students did not always feel small classes necessarily led to more individual treatment.

- Students were more likely to feel that they had to take the initiative than that lecturers sought them out.

- Students taking university courses were likely to think that college lecturers were more likely to treat them as individuals than university lecturers.

- The success or otherwise of student tutor groups was an important factor in whether or not students thought they were treated as individuals.

- Although individual lecturers may have been willing to try to find time to discuss individual student concerns, the college timetable made this difficult.

The question we asked assumed that it was important for lecturers to know students as individuals. A few students commented that the situation at college was different from that of children in the classroom. Firstly, as adult students, they were more able to seek help. Secondly, unlike primary teachers, lecturers came in contact with many students so that they had a much more difficult task. Such students believed that, in the circumstances, lecturers did try.

Students' Skills and Abilities Recognised and Used

Regardless of the college attended, most students thought that their skills were being acknowledged and used, although some added a rider 'to a certain extent' or 'in some areas'. Christchurch students were rather less likely than students in the other two colleges to think their skills were being used, but the differences were not great. Students who felt their skills and abilities were *not* being used inclined to the view that although certain skills and abilities were looked for by interviewing panels, the college did not follow this up by finding out what they were and using them.

> I don't really think I've been given the chance to use the skills I came in with. I can't really say I've extended myself in the six months. (Christchurch)
>
> No recognition for them. I spent a lot of time training for social work and have worked as a social worker. I've worked extensively on assessment programmes of young children.... You get exemption but no credit. You should get credits to help you out of here quicker and into the paid workforce. (Wellington)

Students tended to categorise their skills and abilities as related to specific subjects, personal qualities, or previous experience with children. Students' skills and abilities may be used in college, or on teaching section. Students tended to feel that skills related to specific subjects were of most value to them in college, particularly in relation to optional subjects chosen. Personal qualities such as confidence and leadership skills could be used both in college and on section, but students commonly indicated that their personal skills and previous experience with children came to the fore on teaching sections.

One reason that Wellington students in particular felt that their skills and abilities had been used was because of the wide range of optional courses available to them:

> Yes, you can do whatever you want to in this place - so many options you're given - so you can develop the skills you have if you want to.

However, all colleges had optional courses which students were encouraged to take to develop special interests, and the extent to which a student's personal biography continued to be a factor was indicated by the reasons students gave for choosing courses where they had a choice. By their second year, for example, we thought that students might be influenced in choosing courses either by the skills and reputations of individual lecturers, or their own perception of later career possibilities. Both these factors did influence a minority of students, but the main reason given by students for course selection was that they already had particular interests or skills in a subject. This was followed by those who felt they needed extra help in a subject - a reason which also reflected their personal biography.

It was also apparent when we interviewed students each year about their college courses that students tended to choose subjects as 'majors' in areas of particular strength or interest. This followed through into the classroom, with beginning teachers almost invariably being pleased with the way subjects they had majored in at college were going in the classroom. We were also interested in the number of beginning teachers, even though it was their first year in a school, who had special responsibility for a subject within a school, for example, in music or physical education. These tended to be interests they had developed prior to entry to college, although their classroom teaching skills had undoubtedly been assisted by college programmes.

We have mentioned the extent to which students, in their first year at least, believed their prior skills and experiences were recognised and used. We did not systematically collect information about what formal or informal mechanisms lecturers may have put in place to examine and record the prior qualifications of students in, for example, music, so that they could identify students who might experience difficulty and also those who might be challenged to go beyond the usual requirements of a course. Some courses were graded for beginners or more experienced students, but we also heard of examples where this did not happen. Lack of recognition of ability in Maori language in Maori Studies 100 at Wellington would be one example. Another would be the failure in Auckland for lecturers to know or acknowledge the composition of graduate students' degrees. (Changes have since occurred in both these instances.)

It might be assumed that mature students would be the most likely to have prior skills which lecturers would recognise and accommodate courses to, but students did not think that this was necessarily the case. Mature students themselves sometimes acknowledged that, as it was several years since they had been a student (unless they were recent university graduates), their study skills were rusty, and they lacked recent experience in some subjects where approaches had changed considerably since they were at school, for example, mathematics. In such cases they may have needed to spend extra time to achieve minimum standards, rather than to be exempted from courses. Lecturers commented that the life experiences of mature students, as well as enriching their approaches to learning and teaching, could also make them more set in their ways and more resistant to change.

The influence of students' personal biographies endured through their three years at college and into the classroom. One beginning teacher, for example, when asked about various aspects of her classroom programme, particularly her relationships with children referred to her experience prior to college as a playcentre supervisor. When, in their second year, we asked students what they thought had been the main influences on their teaching style, most thought their experience with associate teachers while on teaching practice sections had been the most influential. However, other students referred to their own personality and background, including the influence of family (both parents and children), previous work and teaching experience, and schooling. In fact, many students believed that their own personal biography was as important in influencing their teaching styles as the college programme itself or more important.

> Own personality. What you feel comfortable with. If you're not a loud person or authoritarian, no one can tell you to be like that. Education has helped. Questioning techniques. Little subtle control measures you can use - I've used them on section. (Christchurch)
>
> Probably your own personality more than anything. The person that you are. Your own enthusiasm. (Wellington)
>
> My kids and their teachers. When my kids come home from school with work, I hijack it and photocopy it. My son says, 'Mum, I've got some more handouts for you'. I've seen what they do at home ... (Auckland)
>
> Nothing here. I think my mother would be the main influence on my teaching style because she is the main influence on me as a person and the way I treat other people. I think essentially my mother always treated me as an individual and an equal to her and that is the way I treat children ... (Wellington)
>
> Probably a big influence is the teachers I've had in the past. That's still a really big influence. Also the lecturers I've had here because the lecturers who are enthusiastic about their subject automatically make me enthusiastic in teaching the subject. (Christchurch)

The Colleges' Tutorial Systems

Each of the colleges has a tutorial system where students come together regularly in small groups or consult tutors individually. Each college organised its system differently, and the systems changed during the course of our study. However, all reflected the first function of tutor groups as stated in the Auckland college calendar, 1991:

> ... to provide for each trainee a staff member who has the individual's progress at college as a major concern and to whom trainees may turn for advice on personal or professional matters.

Christchurch differed from the other two colleges in that its system, particularly in the final year, was a more integral part of the college course itself. The tutors, who were professional studies tutors, provided a programme for students' professional development as well as taking on some of the functions that tutors had in the other colleges, such as pastoral care and support.

We noted earlier that the success or otherwise of student tutor groups was an important factor in whether or not students thought they were treated as individuals. When we interviewed students in their third year, we asked them what they thought of the tutorial system in their college. Students in Auckland and Christchurch were more satisfied with the systems operating in their college than Wellington students. Nearly two-thirds of the Auckland students thought their system was a good one. Almost without exception third-year Christchurch students were enthusiastic about their tutorial system. It was difficult from the Wellington student comments to get a clear impression of how some reacted to the college systems, particularly since, even in the middle of their third year, several of them seemed confused about the current practices. What was clear from students' comments from all three colleges was the importance of the personal and professional skills of the tutor; their commitment to the group; and the need for continuity of tutors.[39] A reason for the enthusiasm of Christchurch students in their third year was that they valued being part of a group which met regularly for professional studies as well as pastoral care.[40]

Keeping together in a group obviously has spin-offs for students. There is no doubt that Auckland students were in general more enthusiastic about their experiences in their first year than were students in the other two colleges. One contributing factor was the strong feeling that came through from the Auckland students (more so than for students in the other colleges) that they were enjoying being part of their 'class' which met together for a number of subjects. The sense of belonging and the importance of group dynamics were clear. Several school leavers felt that this was so compared with the more fragmented experience they had had as sixth and seventh formers.

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[39] It is interesting to note that in a recent Harvard study (Light, 1992), students instanced their tutor or mentor as one of the single most important factors in their progress at university.

[40] This system compares with a mentoring system at the Waikato School of Education, not included in our study, where tutors in a student's first year work intensively with a group of 20 students with a close involvement in their professional development as well as fulfilling pastoral care responsibilities. The programme runs in the first year only because an aim is to make students self-reliant. For this to occur, students should be weaned away from the tutor to seek professional support and guidance for themselves. In Christchurch, by comparison, it is in the third year that the professional studies tutors and tutorials were so well regarded by students.

Orientation Programmes

Orientation programmes can also play a part in helping students to feel welcomed as individuals and part of a group with a shared commitment to training to teach. The way orientation programmes are organised in each of the colleges has changed in the course of our study, so that the detailed comments made by students are of little relevance. However, virtually all students felt the value of an orientation programme. When, as for example in Auckland, students were impressed with the course demonstrations within departments, students' initial enthusiasm for the course of training was supported. When, by comparison, the orientation was regarded as an almost total disaster, as it was in Christchurch in 1989, students were immediately let down and disappointed.

Finances

When we asked prospective students whether they thought they were going to have any problems at college, finances were top of the list; over half of the students thought that finances for daily needs would be a problem. When we interviewed students six months into the first year of their course, finance was still the most frequently mentioned problem, and the financial situation of students continued to deteriorate over the three or four years of their training. Whilst finance was not a major focus of our study, we continued to ask students a few questions about their financial situation at each interview and in the questionnaire they completed for us at the end of their course, because we felt that the introduction of fees for tertiary students and a reduction in the amount of financial assistance from the state available to students could have some impact on the views of students as they passed through the course.

Over the four-year period of the study, increasing numbers of students took some form of paid employment to help their finances; 41% in 1989, 52% in 1990, 62% in 1991, and 64% of four-year students. Most of the jobs were casual jobs in service industries, and the majority of students worked 10-15 hours or less each week.

The students' first comment when asked about finances was that there was never enough. More specifically, most were concerned about three areas:

- the financial support available to students was less than that available to other groups, notably people on the dole;
- parents were expected to support students at an age when they felt the need and obligation to be more independent;

- certain groups of students, notably 16- and 17-year-olds and married couples where both were students, were disadvantaged.

More students had to seek financial support from their parents as they continued their course. In the first-year interviews, 24% of students said they received financial support from their parents. In the second year, 1990, of their course, this increased to 30%, and in 1991 39% of students were supported financially by their parents. A majority of the four-year students (67%) had financial support from their parents. We did not ask details as to how much support parents gave, but some students commented that as well as being given money, they had moved back to live with parents in order to save money on rent and other living expenses. The level of parental support amongst our students is also probably underestimated in that some students, especially those who had never left home, took it for granted that they lived at home and were supported by their parents; others, particularly those who had already left home to go flatting and now found themselves in the position of having to move back, were unhappy with the situation and were the ones most likely to comment to us about it.

In spite of increasing numbers of students taking up part-time employment and having to rely more on financial support from parents, the number of students with debts and the level of indebtedness of students also increased over the course of the study. In the first-year interviews, only 25% of students admitted to being in debt; in the second year, 1990, the first year of increased fees, this increased to 61%; in 1991, at the end of the course for three-year students, 73% said they had debts, a quarter owing $5000 or more; a similar proportion of four-year students (78%) had debts, with approximately half owing over $2500.

The limited material we did collect on finances suggests strongly that the financial situation of the students in our cohort deteriorated over the period of the study. It is more difficult, however, to link their worsening financial situation to comments they made about certain aspects of the course, for example, their views on its length. Very few students made any such links themselves, except for a few who said they had increased expectations of the quality of the course, now that they had to pay higher fees. A few of the students who did not get a teaching job at the end of training commented that they had taken another job because they could not afford to be without employment after completing their course.

Discussion

Linked to students' personal biographies are questions of the length of training. We saw earlier that some students believe the college course to be too long. Should there be more flexibility in the way courses of training are delivered? The students in our study all undertook a two-, three-, or four-year campus-based course of training, the traditional route for most students. We had isolated examples of students within our cohort who had had their course shortened after satisfying staff that they had satisfactorily fulfilled course requirements. We had other isolated examples of students who were disappointed that the same option had not been available for them. Their main objection was that to them there did not appear to be guidelines set down and adhered to. Lack of awareness of clear policies and procedures for students on how to apply for recognition of prior experiences can disadvantage some students and be perceived as an equity issue.

The colleges themselves are well aware of issues to do with flexibility of delivering of courses. In a paper prepared for the NZ Association for Research in Education (NZARE), McGrath (1990) discussed his views of the future of teacher education and referred to the need for colleges to recognise prior learning, to cross-credit to other institutions, and to vary the length of training when appropriate.

All colleges are now investigating and piloting more flexible ways of delivering courses of preservice teacher education, including shortened courses and off-campus courses.[41] For a number of years colleges have recognised the value of a university degree by providing a shortened two-year primary preservice teacher education programme for graduate students entering college, and also for those with half or more of a degree. But it is only recently that any serious attempts have been made to recognise other kinds of formal training (for example, trade certificates) and informal experience (for example, voluntary worker). The automatic right of application for entry to college by people over the age of 21 also recognises the right of mature students to be considered for training. Competency in Maori language for entry to bilingual courses is a more recent example.

Recognition of Prior Learning

A major thrust of the Learning for Life reforms (1989) is that tertiary education should be accessible to as wide a range of students as possible. In order to encourage greater participation, barriers to access for those groups who have previously been under-represented need to be reduced. A major way to do this is for educational providers to recognise prior learning (RPL). Brownie and Milne (1993) suggest that the current trend to recognise prior learning is a consequence of two main concerns. The first is one of student equity - students are able to have their previous experience more fully recognised. The second is economic - recognising prior qualifications should bring about increased efficiency as 'skills that already exist both in the current and potential workforce are recognised and built on' (p. 2). Training time can be reduced by accrediting existing competence.

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[41] For a more detailed account of developments in off-campus courses see Renwick, M. (1993) *Innovation in Teacher Education*, pp. 19-24.

However, as Brownie and Milne go on to comment, 'everything to do with recognition of prior learning is complex and challenging'. Among other things they warn of the cost of initiating RPL, because with each student having a unique series of existing qualifications, the processes are highly individualised. Staff also need training and support to undertake the assessments. RPL also has implications for the structure and design of curriculum.

> In order for candidates to best match their acquired learning against course learning outcomes, syllabi for courses should be stated in the form of competencies. (p. 5)

They raise the problems of courses being seen in terms of learning outcomes rather than content, the dangers associated with modular format of courses, course coherence, pressure towards uniformity, and threats to institutional autonomy. However, as they conclude:

> RPL has much to offer, the challenge to educators is to develop implementation policies that are equitable and are in the best interest of both students as consumers and the institution as educational provider. (p. 7)

College staff are sympathetic to the need to recognise students' prior learning experiences, but also believe it is difficult to shorten courses in special cases for two main reasons:

- courses are planned as an integrated whole, and
- college courses and timetables are closely linked to university and school programmes and timetables.

Recognition of prior learning raises issues of:

- what knowledge is required for teaching in contemporary New Zealand schools,

- how equivalent experience can be determined and assessed, and
- how much of any diploma or degree may be credited without putting the validity of the qualification in question.[42]

Recognition of relevant prior learning raises a range of complex issues. Examples of these are:

- It is sometimes difficult to assess what knowledge a student may have gained through a particular experience, for example, being a teacher aide in a school.
- The value of prior learning is easier to assess in some areas than in others. For example, the skills brought by students fluent in the Maori language may be obvious, whereas the value of previous teaching experience is difficult to assess.
- In a college course, teaching experience is integrated with learning theory, so that lecturers worry about taking in someone with teaching experience who believes that all he or she needs is a 'top up' of theory.
- The integration of complex skills of teaching takes a long time for some students, so early competence may not be sustained.
- Students need to be able to demonstrate learning outcomes they claim to have achieved. Students with prior teaching experience may have had unsatisfactory teachers as role models. They may require more rather than less time to meet the college's required learning outcomes.
- Mature students often equate age, parenthood, and maturity with skills in teaching, but this is not necessarily the case.
- Some students come into a college with valuable experiences, for example, management and organisational experience, but as the college is not teaching such a course, they cannot receive credit, although their experience may prove useful in the classroom.
- In respect of some understandings that are central to a course of teacher education, it is by no means unusual for students to realise that their previous knowledge was more limited, and not as transferable as they had earlier thought. If they had not taken the relevant course, they would not have been challenged to reconsider their assumptions.
- Students do not necessarily know what they need to know until they have had some experience of a particular course.

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[42] For a full discussion of these and other issues see Bell, N. (1992)

- *If students take reduced courses they miss out on some of the richness of* interaction that comes from a whole group working, discussing, and learning together. Mixed groups with school leavers and mature students have a chemistry of their own - both groups learn from each other. It is also an important principle for students to take into the classroom - that students learn from each other as well as the teacher.

Colleges can give examples of students who, when they have had the chance to have their case heard, have opted for sticking with the pre-planned course. Since all cases must be considered on their own merits, their consideration makes heavy demands on the time of college staff, but the fact that a lecturer has taken the trouble to discuss the issue with a student is often a sufficient acknowledgement that the student's situation is recognised and can be a very positive introduction to the college. When credits are allowed, it is more likely that a particular section of a course or optional papers are credited, rather than a total programme shortened. Such a reduced course, even although it still takes the same length of time to complete, should allow students more choice and flexibility of the use of their time within the three-year programme.

EQUITY ISSUES

Equity issues were a matter of major public concern in New Zealand at the time we began our research project in 1989. They still are. Discussion centred on the Treaty of Waitangi, the report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, 'Tomorrow's Schools', and changes in health and social welfare, and was driven by the question 'Is New Zealand society fair?' Equity issues were explicitly stated in school charters as issues which must be recognised and dealt with by schools and teachers.[43] In 1989 all colleges of education had stated policies on equity and a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi.

We assumed that teachers had a pivotal role to play in any concerted public policy seeking greater equity, and that teachers in training needed to be prepared for this aspect of their professional role. Our intention was to find out what students thought about these various equity issues *before* they began their training, and then to monitor their views as they progressed through college and on into their first year in the classroom.

Before we look at student views, however, there are several general points to make. Firstly, the equity issues raised are broad and complex. We have skimmed the surface of issues which could have been the basis for a complete study in itself. Of all the issues we raised with students, the equity issues have been the most difficult to handle because of the subjective nature of the material, the difficulty of defining precisely what the terms mean, how individual students interpret them, and how change in students' attitudes could be determined when we were relying entirely on students' perceptions and recall. Issues of equity were also among those where students' perceptions of their experience of individual college programmes differed most markedly.

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[43] With a change of government in 1990 the requirement for schools to include statements about equity was later reviewed, although most schools continue to do so.

There were differences, too, in the topicality of the issues. Socio-economic issues have been in people's consciousness for a long time, and such differences are seldom resisted or treated as if they did not exist. Gender issues can still be divisive, but even those who resist are likely to recognise that there will be no going back on educational policies for greater gender equity. But for the intake of 1989, biculturalism was still a hotly debated issue among staff as well as students, and among the general public. Biculturalism, sometimes linked with racism in students' comments, was the issue that evoked the most strongly felt responses, for or against.

All students were required to do 100 hours of Maori studies, but colleges organised their programmes differently. Many Auckland and Christchurch students fulfilled their compulsory requirement in their first year. They might have had little or no contact with the Maori studies department in their second or third year. Wellington students were more likely to be engaged in Maori studies courses throughout their training. Not only were there differences between colleges, but the experiences students had within colleges differed depending on which courses they selected. For example, while most only fulfilled minimum course requirements, others chose to major in Maori studies and a few students were enrolled in bilingual programmes.

We interviewed students in the three colleges at nearly comparable times in their training, but we realised that responses were sometimes influenced by very recent experiences, for example, when we interviewed students in their first year many of those in Auckland had just completed a compulsory multicultural studies course of which they were critical, while in Christchurch a sexism awareness week had been held the week prior to our visit.

A criticism of their college experience made by some students was that equity issues were 'overdone', and that some lecturers went 'over the top'. We sensed that students who held this view were reluctant to discuss these topics yet again in an interview. We also have to admit that although we started the project with a firm commitment to look at equity issues, our own spirits sagged as we approached the equity section towards the end of a long interview schedule. The questions seemed to take a disproportionate amount of time for any new information generated. Furthermore, our increasing awareness of the difficulties of analysis affected our enthusiasm for the topic.

With these provisos in mind, what were the students' experiences of equity issues during the course of their training, and did their perception of the importance of these issues change? The issues discussed with the students at the various stages in their training focused on two sites, the college and primary schools, and concerned two different perspectives. One was their experiences as individuals of sexist or racist practices; the other was their views of these and other equity issues with regard to primary school children.

Views of Prospective Students

In the questionnaire prospective students completed on entry to college, we asked a series of questions on broad social and educational issues, including whether they thought racism, sexism, and socio-economic status were issues in New Zealand primary schools; their views on the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi for both the college course and their practice as a classroom teacher; and whether or not they thought New Zealand should be a bicultural society. Their responses can be summarised as follows:

- Over all, at least 40% of prospective students did *not* consider racism and the socio-economic status of children's families to be an issue, and more than 60% did not think sexism was an issue.
- Mature students, that is those over the age of 21, were significantly more likely than school leavers to believe that each of the equity issues raised were issues in primary schools.
- Of the three issues raised, racism in schools (59% of students), and the economic status of children's families (54%), were thought to be more of an issue in primary schools than sexism (38%).
- There were variations by college in the prospective students' responses. Wellington had consistently the greatest proportion and Auckland had consistently the smallest proportion who thought that any of these issues were problems in primary schools.

Racism

Where prospective students added a comment to supports their view that racism was an issue in primary schools, they usually referred to children's racist attitudes in the classroom, which were usually thought to have been learnt at home and in turn reflected racism in the wider society. A smaller number of prospective students thought teachers themselves held racist attitudes. An example given was lower expectations of, and lack of encouragement for, Maori and Pacific Island pupils.

A minority of prospective students thought the school system as a whole was inherently racist, being based on an inappropriate European model of education, where the values and experiences of the dominant culture, to the exclusion of others, are evident in the resources and materials available in schools. They thought that because of the 'white middle-class environment' of teaching, cultural insensitivity was inevitable.

At the end of the questionnaire, we asked prospective students about their views of New Zealand in the year 2000 as they would like to see it. Improved race relations was the most frequent response.

Socio-economic Status

Prospective students who saw the socio-economic status (SES) of children's families to be an issue usually did so because they saw class distinctions between different schools within their own city. Affluent parents usually sent their children to 'better' schools. Schools in poorer areas were disadvantaged in the physical resources that they could offer their pupils, and found it harder to attract 'good' teachers, leading to restricted and inequitable educational opportunities for their pupils. A few prospective students expected this situation to become worse with the implementation of 'Tomorrow's Schools'.

It was not uncommon for prospective students to believe that parents from low-income families were less able to give their children the support needed for educational success, and that these parents did not have the same aspirations or interest in education as parents from higher SES groups.

These same prospective students had a view that the home environment of those in lower SES groups was deprived; the children from such homes were more likely to be aggressive and to have health problems. These children were also likely to be deprived of 'educationally rich' experiences such as books and travel, with the result that they entered school with a 'deficit'. Such children were also thought to be more difficult to motivate, having a poor attitude to school and limited educational aspirations.

Sexism

The majority of those who thought sexism was an issue in primary schools referred to examples of sexist attitudes and practices in classrooms, for example, boys receiving greater teacher attention; girls being expected to be more positive and polite; boys and girls not being given the same opportunities to participate in various curriculum areas, in particular mathematics, science, craftwork, and home economics; and sexist curriculum materials, such as reading books portraying 'Mum in the kitchen while Dad is out at work' or 'boys having all the adventures while the girls stayed at home'.

Some students thought that the organisation and hierarchy of the education system as a whole, and of schools, also served to reinforce sexist attitudes. Most senior positions in primary teaching were filled by males, although most teachers were women. The low pay and status of teaching, particularly primary teaching, was a consequence of its being considered a woman's job. Whereas primary teaching was dominated by women, there were far more men in secondary teaching, which was seen to have more status and better pay, and few women teaching in the tertiary sector, which had even more status and even better pay.

The Treaty of Waitangi

About two-thirds of prospective students felt that the Treaty was an important contemporary issue which should be reflected in the college course by an emphasis on the study of Maori language and culture. Many felt that they themselves had insufficient knowledge of Treaty issues and taha Maori to deal with it confidently in the classroom, and hoped that the course would go some way towards rectifying this lack.

A substantial minority of prospective students stated that they did not know what effect the Treaty would have on the course or in the classroom, or they felt that it would or should have little or no effect. Some of these students expressed negative attitudes towards the Treaty.

New Zealand as a Bicultural Society

Rather less than half of the prospective students (44%) believed that New Zealand should be a bicultural society. Some said that New Zealand was already on the way to becoming bicultural, but also added that there was a long way to go before biculturalism was achieved. Many felt that greater promotion of Maori language and culture was necessary before New Zealand could consider itself bicultural. Almost one-quarter (22%) of the prospective students stressed the multicultural, as distinct from bicultural, nature of New Zealand society, with a few preferring to think of us all as New Zealanders. Thirteen percent of prospective students expressed negative feelings towards biculturalism, feeling that the topic caused friction and even led to inverted racism.

There were differences between intake groups in student attitudes towards the Treaty and biculturalism. Auckland students were less likely than the intakes at the other two colleges to give any acknowledgement to the importance of Maori language and culture in their own right. Wellington students were the most likely of the three intakes to make positive comments about the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi for the college course and for their own practice in the classroom, whereas Auckland and Christchurch students were more likely to deny that the Treaty had any relevance in either case.

The First Year

The data presented so far in this chapter are based on responses to the questionnaire sent to all prospective students in our cohort (N = 549) before they entered college. Virtually all the data we collected from students during the course of their training, and later as beginning teachers, were based on the comments made by the students in our smaller interview sample (N = approx. 100). The exception was one question included in the final questionnaire for all graduating students on the extent to which they thought they had been prepared to deal with racism and sexism among pupils, and with children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds.

The students in our interview sample were asked whether or not the various topics we had labelled 'equity issues', that is, racism, sexism, socio-economic status, and biculturalism, had been raised at the college. We left them to give their own meanings to these words and phrases. Students interpreted the questions in different ways and certainly defined the terms differently. What, for example, is racism? Several students linked racism with biculturalism. Furthermore, students who said issues had been raised ranged in their comments from statements such as, 'It's been touched on, but nothing really' to 'comes up frequently all the time'.

Some findings:

- Wellington students were considerably more likely than students at Auckland or Christchurch to believe that the issues we selected to talk about had been raised. In Christchurch the number of students who thought the issues had *not* been raised outnumbered those who did, other than sexism.

- Of the four issues discussed, biculturalism was the one which students from Auckland and Wellington were most likely to think had been raised, particularly in Wellington, where virtually all students said this was the case - 'Definitely in Maori studies - racism and biculturalism are big issues at the college'. Few Christchurch students, in contrast to the other two colleges, believed biculturalism had been raised as an issue.

- Of the other three equity issues, sexism was the issue most likely to be raised in Wellington and Christchurch, followed by racism and socio-economic status. Auckland students put racism first. We noted earlier that students on entry to college were likely to think that sexism was the issue of *least* importance in primary schools, so that in their first year at Wellington and Christchurch students were likely to think lecturers were most likely to raise the equity issue they considered of least importance.

- More students than not said racism had been raised as an issue, but it was difficult from the student comments to develop a clear picture of what they believed was happening. A few referred to the difficulty of discussing the issue, which they thought was avoided:

  > That's a very sensitive issue which they discuss but very carefully. It's like tiptoeing through a minefield. Because we've got all ethnic groups here it's very hard to actually have a good discussion about it because everyone gets heated ... they tend to avoid it. (Auckland)

  About half a dozen students commented on what they believed to be racist attitudes on the part of other students (demonstrated in some instances by their objection to having to take bicultural courses), and others to a feeling that it was difficult to express their own views for fear of being labelled racist.

  The general impression was that racism, as with sexism, had been 'touched on lightly' in a range of courses, particularly education, social studies, and language courses, but, unlike sexism, most students thought it was an issue that many people were concerned about but shied away from.

- As with the other equity issues, socio-economic status could either be raised in the lecture room, or observed and discussed in relation to teaching practice. There were relatively few comments from Auckland students. In Wellington, the student comments tended to refer to the lecture room - usually to discussions in professional studies of child development. In Christchurch, by comparison, although a few students referred to education readings and discussions in education lectures, most of the comments were on practical experience in the schools. There was a suggestion in some of the student comments that it was not an issue among the students because 'we're all the same sort of middle-class people'.

Do Teachers Need To Be Aware of These Issues?

Virtually all the students interviewed believed that the equity issues raised were issues students needed to be aware of to become teachers. Most recognised that, as these were issues 'in society at large', teachers needed to be aware of them to be effective teachers. However, there were a sizable number who spoke along the following lines:

> Yes. You've got to be aware of them but you've got to take it in your stride - you can't over-emphasise them. They're there and you've got to acknowledge them but there's no use blowing them up any further than what they already are. (Auckland)

Such students reflected a view that there was no need 'to go overboard'. Some students acknowledged that they had 'never thought about the issues' before coming to college. Others indicated that they were getting a bit tired of the same issues being raised so often. Students who were critical wanted much more recognition to be given to the cultural backgrounds of students other than Maori. They saw inverse racism in repeated criticism of 'middle-class Pakeha'.

Students Who Had Changed Views Since Arrival

We asked students in the first-year interview if they had changed their views on equity issues since they had been at college. Their responses were uniform across the three colleges. From each college 11 or 12 said they had changed their views and the remaining 20-25 said they had not. The students who had changed their views thought they had become 'more aware' or 'more open and broadminded'. If they referred to particular issues, it was most likely to be biculturalism and/or multiculturalism. Several students said they had become more negative and entrenched in their views, usually in relation to biculturalism.

Inequitable Experiences

We asked the students interviewed whether or not they had had any experiences which they considered to be inequitable since they arrived at college. We also asked them, regardless of whether or not they personally had had inequitable experiences, whether they considered there were equity issues the college needed to address. Over all, students were about twice as likely to say that they had *not* had any inequitable experiences as that they had. Rather more students thought there were equity issues the colleges needed to address.

Regardless of whether it was because students believed they had personally had inequitable experiences or because they believed there were equity issues the college needed to address, the issues raised tended to be similar.

Issues largely outside the control of college staff

- Inequitable bursaries in favour of Maori students (largest single category of comments, particularly noted by Auckland students).
- Ratio of male to female students.
- High proportion of male lecturers (Christchurch only).
- Insufficient intake of Maori students.

- Students accepted only because they were Maori.

Within college issues

Gender equity -

- Male chauvinist lecturers - sexist lecturers.
- Female/male student ratios:
  - Some saw this as giving the males a hard time.
  - Others believed the males were favoured.
- Subject bias in favour of one gender or the other.

Ethnicity

- Need for more bicultural focus (mainly Christchurch).
- Maori/Polynesian students favoured.
- Racist students who do not understand the issues.
- Biculturalism/multiculturalism debate:
  - Cultural background of students other than Maori should be recognised, for example, Dutch, Yugoslav, Scottish.
- Too much stress on Maori culture:
  - Dangers of inverse racism.
  - Anti the White middle class.
  - Insensitivity to Pakeha culture.
  - 'Born-again White Maoris'.
  - Resentment of Pakeha students at being made to feel 'second-class citizens' and carry the burden of 'guilt' for Maori ills.
- Maori and Polynesian students keep to themselves.

Other Issues

- Courses designed for school leavers, with insufficient awareness of the needs of mature students.
- Parents/mature students favoured.
- Lesbianism not recognised.

The Second and Third Years

The material reported on here is largely based on second year data. We interviewed students in both their second and third years, but we did not detect differences of any significance in their comments in the third year.

Sexism

In Wellington the common view was that the college was 'strong on equity issues' which 'play a big part in college life'. Of the equity issues raised in the student interviews, sexism was the issue where students were most likely to think their views had changed since coming to college. In Auckland more than half the students made comments to the effect that sexism was not an issue at the college, or it was not talked about as an issue. The general view was that 'it's not really an issue here'. The explanation given by a few students for the reason sexism was not an issue at the college was because female students were so much in the majority, coupled with the fact that the males were mostly '... easy and outgoing'. In Christchurch about a third of the students said that they thought the institution was not sexist, that they had not experienced any sexist practices at the college, and that most staff and students were aware of sexist issues. About an equal number, however, thought the issue was largely ignored.

For many students, their heightened awareness of sexism as an issue stemmed from teaching practice sections, although it is true that this might not have occurred had the issue not been raised at the college in the first place. As one Christchurch student put it:

> The college is addressing the issue of sexism and I think everyone is more aware of it. I know for myself that from the time in college this year I have made a special effort, especially going into the classroom, not to discriminate between boys and girls and I think that that is because the college has in all our courses talked about how we can handle the issue.

While students were appreciative of the courses that raised questions of sexism, it was common for students who also attended the university, or had done so previously, to say that such issues were more likely to be raised and considered in depth at the university.

Socio-economic Status

When students were asked how they thought the college was addressing the issue of socio-economic status, they tended to make similar comments regardless of college. Of the various equity issues we raised with students, socio-economic status was the one in all colleges which was the least likely to be discussed. Those students who said their views on socio-economic status had changed referred either to socio-economic status with regard to children in schools, or to the financial worries of students.

Students' comments about their finances were invariably related to increased fees. Students acknowledged that this was a political issue and not something the colleges could do much about. In expressing their concerns, students referred to:

- their view that student intakes would become increasingly middle-class and Pakeha, as were the staff;
- controversy over eligibility for hardship grants and/or reduced fees;
- resentment because the personal circumstances of some students who received targeted allowances on the basis of family incomes did not seem to other students to justify their favoured treatment; and
- the need for lecturers to be more accountable to students now that they were paying. As one student put it:

> It's really getting at me. I had to pay over $2,000 and that's a lot of money to come here for a year. We're definitely not getting value for money. I didn't mind paying any varsity fees. I just sent off the cheque. But to pay it to come here! (Auckland)

A second issue was the need for the colleges to recognise 'the reality of student debt', particularly with regard to costs to students of such things as classroom resources.

Racism and Biculturalism

Auckland

Student opinion ranged all the way from some students who thought the college was strong on these issues and tried to raise student awareness to others who 'wouldn't know if racism is an issue', and yet others who considered the college to be a racist institution. Three students expressed appreciation of the Maori studies department, and in particular the multicultural course run in 1989. More commonly students were critical, believing the course to be anti-Pakeha, and a few said that because of their experience they would not take anything further in the Maori studies department.

Few of the students in our sample were taking courses in the Maori studies department in their second year, and for this reason thought biculturalism was less emphasised than in their first year. Several referred to the bicultural/multicultural debate, usually believing that multiculturalism was the real issue.

Wellington

The majority of students made positive comments about the institution as a whole and the effort being made to increase student awareness of racism. It was also a common view that biculturalism was a major concern of the institution, the importance of Maoritanga and the Treaty of Waitangi being stressed. Students acknowledging their previous 'Pakeha-dominated environment', said their attitudes had been challenged.

The college and courses were not without their critics, usually Pakeha students, a few of whom were resentful because they thought the college 'comes on too strong'. Some Maori students did not believe the college really achieved its own objectives - for one student, this could only happen when all courses were bilingual.

As with students in the other colleges, there were several who thought that multiculturalism was the issue rather than biculturalism. There were also those who felt the more important issue was how to counter racism in the classroom, and that as future teachers they had not been helped in this regard.

Christchurch

The students presented a confused picture. Compare, for example, these two statements on racism:

> We don't really get a lot on that. I don't see it personally. I realise it's around and there are people around the college that hold quite strong opinions about it, but personally it doesn't affect me.
>
> We're being made aware of the race issue a lot more. In our Maori classes we're told about the importance of Maori cultures within New Zealand and the multicultural society we live in. I think it is addressed well.

Similarly with biculturalism, one student was prepared to say that the college accepted biculturalism 'with open arms', while two other students commented:

> I suppose it is addressed but not given much priority.
>
> I don't notice it happening if it is happening. I suppose in social studies we do it.

In a range of student views, the following comments were made:

- The college itself was monocultural, which gave the impression that the subject was dealt with from a textbook, rather than in a practical sense.
- There were Polynesian students in the college who could be used as a resource, but were not.

- Good will on the part of the college did not translate into practice, because of inadequacies within the Maori department.
- The Maori department did not have a prominent position within the college, exacerbated by the fact that lecturers outside that department tended to avoid bicultural issues.
- Maori was optional, and it was possible for students in the second year to ignore it.
- Multiculturalism was a more important issue than biculturalism.
- Students were not given strategies to cope with racism in the classroom.

Had the Students' Views Changed in Their Second and Third Years?

We had trouble with the analysis of our data about changes in students' views. Firstly, what does 'change' mean? Many students had strong views on these issues when they arrived at college, and rather than 'changing' their views, they tended to have affirmed them. Secondly, students did not always remember what they had thought the previous year, so had trouble deciding whether or not their views had changed. (To counter this problem in their third year, we forwarded them a copy of statements they had made in their second year, prior to their next interview.) Thirdly, 'change' can be in two different directions, and simply to know that a student's views had changed does not necessarily tell the researcher much, although students did usually add explanatory comments. Fourthly, there is a danger that change may be regarded as a good thing in itself, that we expected students' views ought to change. The concept of 'change' as we used it was dubious. Perhaps of more interest were the views students affirmed and why.

Over all, about a third of the students said their views on sexism and racism had changed, and about a quarter said their views on socio-economic status and biculturalism had changed.

Regardless of 'issue', students whose views had *not* changed usually said this was because they did not regard themselves as either sexist or racist on entry to college, and nor were they now. However, they frequently added a rider that they did now have a heightened awareness of the issues.

Two years into the college course, most students claimed to be better informed about the various equity issues and to be more open-minded; they accepted that staff at the colleges were concerned with the issues and the students themselves tended to affirm the stated objectives of the colleges. There were exceptions and these are raised in the summaries below.

Sexism

The students who said their views had changed usually gave one of two reasons:

1. They now acknowledged that 'sexism does exist'. Perhaps they had not changed so much as being now more inclined to voice an opinion because of their increased understanding, for example:

> I think I always didn't like sexist language and didn't like to be put down because I was a woman, moved on a little bit, become more vocal, but I'm not one of these really radical, raving people. (Wellington)

2. Their awareness of the issue had increased:
   - they had started to notice their own behaviour and think about it as an issue
   - college had been an important influence after their particular school background
   - they were more aware of sexism in schools and of sexist language in books
   - they had become aware because of university courses
   - they thought some male lecturers were sexist

Socio-economic Status

Students who said their views on socio-economic status had changed made comments which related either to:

- an increased awareness of the effect of SES on children, mainly through observation in school, or
- concern about increased fees, the effect this had on themselves as students, and their belief that the proportion of middle-class students would increase.

Christchurch students were considerably more likely than students from the other two colleges to consider that their views on socio-economic status had changed. Those who gave an explanation tended to refer to their own backgrounds and the fact that it was not until they came to college and visited schools that they had really experienced children from lower socio-economic groups.

Racism

Students frequently made comments which suggested that they immediately thought of Maori concerns rather than broader racial issues. They also tended to link racism with biculturalism, as though they were one and the same thing.

Auckland

Those students who said their views on either racism or biculturalism had changed divided almost equally between those who said they had become more understanding and tolerant because of experiences at college, and those who said their attitudes were now more negative.

On the positive side, students commented on the fact that:

- They were now 'less conservative' and 'more relaxed' about the issues. They used to ignore the issue but now recognised the reality of racism.
- Having been 'scared' they would not get into college because of their lack of knowledge of Maori, they now felt quite comfortable.
- They felt their experience to be limited because they were monolingual.
- Children from different cultures have different needs.

Those who said they were uncomfortable about biculturalism or were more racist than when they arrived at college instanced the experiences that had brought this about:

- The college was more concerned with biculturalism than multiculturalism, an approach which did not prepare students for work in multicultural classrooms and to cater for other ethnic groups widely represented in Auckland.
- A feeling that as Pakeha students they were 'put down' by the Maori studies department.

Wellington and Christchurch

All but one of the students in Wellington and Christchurch who said their views on either racism or biculturalism had changed said that increased experience and understanding had made them more positive in their attitudes. They claimed to be more aware of other cultures and to be more sensitive to different cultural values. Several students commented on the limited experience of other cultures they had had before coming to the college and the importance they now attached to being aware particularly of Maori and Pacific Island cultures.

At the End of Training

We asked the students, through the questionnaire, how well they thought they had been prepared to deal with sexism and racism among pupils and with children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. Their responses are summarised in Table 13.

Table 13
Students' Preparation for Dealing with Various Equity Issues

Equity issues	Very well %			Adequately %			Not well %		
	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh	Auck	Wgtn	ChCh
Sexism amongst pupils	30	49	38	47	44	53	24	4	8
Racism amongst pupils	30	51	40	44	39	47	26	8	12
Children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds	41	56	62	49	38	35	9	4	2

N=325 Auckland N=194, Wellington N=71, and Christchurch N=60.

- Student responses to this question may have been influenced by their prior knowledge and experience of these issues as well as the impact of the college course.

The Beginning Teachers

We also questioned the beginning teachers about these issues and asked them if they had any comments they wished to make about their experience in the classroom. As with the material collected during the college course, the data was difficult to analyse and impossible to quantify. Firstly, a distinction has to be drawn between the number of beginning teachers who *referred* to an issue and the number for whom the issue was a *problem*. References to sexism in Wellington would be a good example. Of the three equity issues, this was the one most frequently referred to by beginning teachers but also the one where the lowest proportion felt it to be a problem. Secondly, it was sometimes difficult to decide whether, when a beginning teacher said an issue such as racism was *not* a problem, the teacher meant it was not a problem because it did not exist, or that it did exist as an issue but was not a problem because it was being dealt with in the school or class. The former was the most likely explanation. Third, we must stress that we are referring here to beginning teachers' perceptions. Whether or not there were, for example, sexist or racist practices in their schools is a separate issue. With these provisos in mind, various trends emerged.

Socio-economic Status

The issue most likely to be considered important in schools by beginning teachers was the socio-economic status of the children's families. (This may indicate a shift in perception since entry to college, when prospective students were likely to think racism was the most important equity issue in primary schools. *See* p. 161). Of the three issues raised, socio-economic status was the one referred to by the highest proportion of beginning teachers in Auckland and Christchurch - in Auckland by virtually all teachers - and thought to be an issue by at least half the beginning teachers across the three regions.

Teachers working in areas of low socio-economic status commented on the effects of poverty - lack of money for school trips and stationery, and children not having enough to eat and coming to school without a lunch. A few comments were also made about lack of cleanliness and children being cold because of inadequate clothing. These schools tended to have multicultural rolls. Several beginning teachers indicated that this was their first experience of a school with predominantly Maori and Pacific Island children and, for some, of any close contact with Maori and Pacific Island children. One commented, 'It's scary actually, what I take for granted that those kids don't have'. Others spoke of the patience needed when you had to wait for children to bring things like stationery to school, and children's distress when they knew they would have to go home and ask for money for class trips. The fact that some children could not afford to go on even subsidised class trips added to the problems of paucity of experiences typical of some of these children - experiences beginning teachers considered necessary for them to benefit from classroom programmes. As one beginning teacher commented:

> The biggest 'ism' is the socio-economic status - the kids saying to one another, 'You're poor, you can't do this, you can't do that.' That's far worse at the moment than racism is. (Wellington)

This same teacher went on to say that the school held competitions each week to see which class banked the most. She had refused to let her class take part in this activity because she believed it was unfair to highlight the lack of money of some children.

Competition amongst children about material possessions was a perceived problem in a range of schools. This often focused on clothing and was particularly noticeable on 'mufti days' in intermediate schools:

> There's a lot of peer pressure - who's got roller blades, and who hasn't. This sort of thing happens a lot and the children realise very quickly on mufti days, who has got the most clothes and that sort of thing. They do hassle each other then and it's hard. (Christchurch)

Running counter to this trend was another teacher's comment:

> Quite often children will say to you, openly in front of the rest of the class, 'We can't afford it at the moment'. And there doesn't seem to be any sort of bias towards those people, or negative attitudes, which is good. (Auckland)

In their comments, the beginning teachers tended to focus on one or other of the issues of equity rather than connecting them with each other. In fact, because most children from lower socio-economic backgrounds were in schools with multiethnic rolls, questions of poverty in those schools may be linked to those of race. In the examples they gave of problems of poverty, a few of the beginning teachers themselves made comments with racist overtones. A few, for example, did not appear to consider the possibility that children from minority ethnic backgrounds may have rich and varied experiences in their life outside school.

> We can't get money for trips so their experiences are pretty limited here. (Auckland)

Other teachers implied that those with experiences they considered to be limited were somehow not normal.

> It's exciting if you know that some child actually has a stable background ... you really, really think, 'Oh, that one's normal. That's one child that's actually grown up in a normal family'. Whereas some of those kids ... most of these kids aren't.... (Auckland)

In a minority of cases, particularly in some districts within the Auckland region, the beginning teachers' comments referred to the relative affluence of their children's backgrounds and the effect this had on school resources. Children from well-off, middle class families were also considered to adjust to school readily, and made teaching more straightforward for beginning teachers.

Racism

In Auckland, about half the beginning teachers said there were no racist practices in schools, amongst either staff or pupils. Most of the remainder had nothing to say on the topic. In Wellington, about half the beginning teachers commented on evidence of racism

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within the school, but rarely substantiated what the issue was, and usually felt it was being dealt with. In Christchurch, two-thirds of the beginning teachers said there was no racism or had nothing to say.

When beginning teachers did substantiate their views on racism at the school or in their class, three related views emerged:

1. They did not have to take racism too seriously, 'because younger children are less likely to be aware of ethnic differences, or to be upset by racist attitudes' - 'I don't think these kids understand it at the moment'. One beginning teacher, referring to Maori in her class, commented:

   > I think they're at an age where they don't quite understand they're being laughed at.

2. Racism is an issue for adults who 'put people into boxes', but children 'don't realise they are different' or are 'more open-minded than adults'. Teachers who believe racism is an issue for adults may not 'wish to make racism an issue in the classroom'.

3. Racism amongst parents is sometimes reflected in children's attitudes - for example, a child who refused to speak Maori because 'I'm not Maori, and you're not going to make me'.

A few beginning teachers in Auckland spoke of parents who were concerned about the number of Asian children in a class for whom English was a second language, and how much teacher time was going to be devoted to them.

Racism amongst children, when it was mentioned, was most likely to be in the playground. The few examples given usually referred to Indian and recent Asian migrants; antagonism was based on appearance, speech, dress, and religious observance.

> ... It's not so much a European/Polynesian thing. It's more the Indian children out here. They really cop it quite badly. (Auckland)
>
> I'm not going to play with you because you speak funny, you look funny. (Christchurch)

However, one beginning teacher in a bilingual class referred to antagonism between Maori and Pacific Islanders:

> ... a lot of racism goes on between the Maoris and the Pacific Islanders at this school. It's a total turn around. Very bad. There's a lot of fighting and abuse. They don't mix in the playground. It's really bad at this school.

She went on to say antagonism was also directed towards Pakeha:

> I've got a little Pakeha in my class at the moment and she has been given a really hard time over being white and having long blonde hair. I felt really sorry for her. It's not racism, it's just that she looks different to everybody else. [*sic*] A lot of that goes on out here. (Auckland)

A few beginning teachers referred to 'hidden' or 'latent' racism:

> I wouldn't tell them that I thought they were racist, but the unimportance of other cultures to them has rather shocked me at times. (Auckland)

One Maori beginning teacher teaching in a post-primary school felt that 'hidden' racism had to be combated. For many pupils at the school, their only view of Maori was through the media, for example, the 'Crimewatch' programme and newspaper reports, and these turned them off Maori issues.

One or two beginning teachers said they had been given strategies at college to cope with children's racist behaviour. One or two also referred to school policy on the matter. However, a number of beginning teachers, who were aware of the issues of equity we discussed with them, said that although they acknowledged the issues they did not always feel they had the skills to address them. One Wellington beginning teacher said that when she was at college 'the message kept coming across' to acknowledge ethnic differences, but 'nobody ever said how'. This was particularly the case with racism (one teacher went so far as to say she just ignored it) and how to handle such things as lack of cleanliness with children from lower socio-economic backgrounds. One who had sought help from her deputy principal was also disappointed with the lack of guidance within the school. Another said she had handled a 'little eruption' but 'not the core problem'.

Sexism

We have already noted that sexism was the equity issue most likely to be referred to by Wellington beginning teachers, although a third said they were not aware of sexism in their school or class. This was also the case for more than half the beginning teachers in Auckland and about half those in Christchurch. Almost all the comments about sexism focused on the classroom and strategies used by beginning teachers to counter sexism, often minor, such as having mixed lines for boys and girls. A few spoke of heightened awareness of such issues as boys taking a disproportionate amount of teachers' time or dominating behaviour in the classroom, including classroom discussions - issues students had been introduced to during college courses. A few spoke of trying to be role models for girls and one or two spoke of children picking them up for making sexist remarks.

A few linked sexist behaviour with 'cultural' conditioning - girls are expected to tidy up, and boys are not. Others linked sexist behaviour with ethnicity. The few examples given were of Samoan cultural values, such as boys displaying dominating behaviour at home and in the classroom, and Pacific Island parents not letting their daughters play sport.

Biculturalism

The term 'biculturalism' in the New Zealand context has a specific meaning referring to Maori/Pakeha relationships. Our data did not allow us to paint a clear picture of the attitudes towards biculturalism of beginning teachers, more than half of whom did not mention the topic. We do not know whether this was because beginning teachers did not wish to discuss the topic; felt the school was running a bicultural programme, so it was not an issue; or the school was not running a bicultural programme and the beginning teachers did not think it was an issue. Lively bicultural programmes were described by some students, but there were also isolated references to tokenism and lip service to biculturalism. It was common for beginning teachers in schools with multicultural rolls to say they thought the school programme should be multicultural rather than bicultural. In their view, te reo Maori in schools with, for example, predominantly Polynesian and/or Asian rolls was inappropriate. School policy may be influenced by community attitudes. Individual beginning teachers referred to their uncertainty about speaking Maori because they did not knew whether it was 'acceptable'; parents wanting them to teach Maori but the school putting limits on the time spent; parents who did not consider Maori a part of their lives; and children who put the teacher off using Maori. The beginning teacher who made the following comment probably sums up the view of many.

> The school is supportive if you do teach Maori language and culture but if you don't nobody is going to mind.

Ethnicity of the Students and Beginning Teachers in our Study

Most of the students in our cohort when they entered the three colleges of education in our study described themselves as Pakeha/European (426 or 78%). Eighty-four (16%) described themselves as Maori or Maori and 'other'; and 22 (4%) as Pacific Islanders or Pacific Islander and 'other'. Most of the Maori students enrolled in Auckland (49%) or

Wellington (28%), with a minority in Christchurch (7%).

Twenty-two of the original 109 students in our interview sample described themselves as Maori or Pacific Islanders, although not all of these were interviewed during each of the four years of the study.

During the course of the study a number of students resigned or deferred their training. Our data suggest that figures for Maori and Pacific Island students did not differ significantly from those of Pakeha/European students.

At the end of our study, when we interviewed 100 beginning teachers, 74 had described themselves as Pakeha/European on entry to college. According to our data there was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of graduating students from different ethnic groups being appointed to beginning teachers' positions. Of the remaining 26 beginning teachers, most had described themselves as Maori or Maori and 'other' on entry to college. One was Samoan, one Niuean, one Indian, and one a Cook Islander. With the exception of one beginning teacher teaching in Christchurch, and eight in Wellington, the majority of beginning teachers who described themselves as other than Pakeha/European were teaching in Auckland, and the majority of these, 15, were teaching in South Auckland schools. Whether they were teaching in South Auckland or not, all but three of the beginning teachers who had described themselves as other than Pakeha/European on entry to college were teaching in schools whose rolls they described as ethnically mixed, or mainly Maori and Pacific Island. In other words, there appeared to be a degree of self-selection with Maori and Pacific Island students being selected to teach in schools with ethnically mixed or high Maori and Pacific Island rolls. It was also true, however, that of the 74 Pakeha/European beginning teachers 25 were also teaching in such schools.

Maori Students

We have been talking in this chapter about the views of students in general, with some references to differences by college. Did the views of students who identified as Maori differ from the others? Elsewhere in the text we have referred to a few occasions where our analysis suggested that Maori students were more likely than other students to hold a particular view or have particular skills, for example, the extent to which they were looking forward to teaching Maori, their ability to speak Maori, and their wish to belong to a Maori and Polynesian club. There were others; for example, when they finished their training Maori students were more likely than other students to be looking forward to teaching health and music.

The material in this section, which is largely based on open-ended interview questions, is difficult to handle quantitively. There is also the question of who is a Maori student. We have taken all those students who identified as Maori as well as those who identified as Maori/Pakeha, or in some cases Maori/other (usually Samoan).

A number of Maori students were interviewed for selection to college on a marae. Prior to 1988 the usual practice had been for prospective students to be interviewed by a panel of selectors at education board offices or a similar location. In 1988, however, some applicants had the opportunity to be interviewed on a marae or could bring support persons to the interview. Over all, 80 (15%) of the students said they had been given the choice of being interviewed for selection on a marae. (By college the percentages were: Auckland 19%, Wellington 20%, Christchurch 6%). These percentages equate exactly with the percentage of students who described themselves as Maori or Maori/Pakeha.

Of the students who were given the choice of being interviewed on a marae, 37 (41%) chose to do so. There were variations by college: in Auckland, students who were given the choice were most likely to be interviewed on a marae (56%); in Wellington the figure was less than a third (32%); and in Christchurch although only eight students (5%) had had the opportunity, none took it. Those students who had been interviewed on a marae and added a comment usually said it was because they felt comfortable and relaxed on a marae, and were 'touched with Maori aroha'. One added that she thought her chances of being accepted would be greater. (Later, in her first-year interview she said that she thought that the fact that she was Maori had helped her to be accepted for college.) Those who had not accepted the invitation to be interviewed on a marae usually said it was because they felt uncomfortable on a marae as they were unfamiliar with Maori protocol. They also felt that they thought the skills they had were better suited to an individual interview and they wanted to show from the beginning that they could handle such situations by themselves.

By and large the comments Maori students made about the qualities and abilities they thought the selection panels were looking for were indistinguishable from Pakeha students. There were very few references to any particular concern with Maori education. An exception was the student who commented that the selection panel was interested in -

> my personal views on the current structure of the education system and the schools, my views on Maori issues right across the board and in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi, what I thought would be the ideal school, staff, and pupil background.

As with Pakeha students there was a wide range of backgrounds among Maori students - all the way from those who identified as Maori but had not been brought up with much knowledge of Maori language or marae protocol, to one who had previously tutored Maori at school and at the university. We have already seen that family experiences were important for most students and they were certainly stressed with Maori students, particularly large, extended families where a student may have felt she had learnt a lot about child development, and the significance of being part of a bicultural family. At least 10 Maori students spoke of the limitations of their experience of te reo Maori, particularly lack of the language and several of these identified learning to speak Maori as a specific weakness with which they would need help at college. Because of this lack of confidence, several also said Maori language and culture was one area of the primary school curriculum they were least looking forward to. (This was not typical of Maori over all. As we saw on p. 64 Maori students were more likely than other students to be looking forward to teaching Maori language and culture.)

One student who was not fluent in Maori when she came into college was disappointed in her first year that she had not had more chance to learn Maori. What she was doing she seemed to have to do in her own time. She rang her 'mum' frequently and practised speaking with her. The second year was an improvement and the student was pleased to have a section where there was a child who had come from a kohanga reo which meant that the student was able to talk with her in Maori and the child was able to 'teach' the student. She talked at some length about what she had learnt as a Maori by being at college and how this had helped her to understand things she had previously accepted without question:

> When I was a girl my mother used to tell me a lot of things but she didn't explain. There were things I knew I shouldn't do when it came to Maori superstition, if you like to call it that. Going to Kapa Haka has explained it. If someone asks me now why they shouldn't do certain things I can give them an answer. Before I just said, 'I don't know'. It's just how I've been brought up. Now it makes a lot of sense. Things seem to fall into place - learning about other tribes who have different beliefs. Now I know that my way is not the only way. I've visited other marae - before it was only Maniapoto. I didn't realise there were any differences.

A number of Maori students in Wellington stressed the importance for them of the marae welcome and powhiri on the first day, which was for them a 'key event'. They felt welcomed to Ako Pai. (Several Pakeha students had said the same.) One student who had commented on the importance for her of having a Maori name 'heading the name of the college', went on to say:

> When I first arrived here when we were taken down to the quad, I didn't believe that I was really here. There were so many people and I didn't know anyone -

> just one person I had met at the interview. Going down and having a powhiri and being welcomed, that's one thing that will always stick in my mind. I was so proud of myself and I thought, 'Gosh, I wish Mum was here to see me do this'. I've had a lot of fun since....There is harmony here. I haven't felt anything negative towards being a Maori.

As Pakeha researchers, we are in no position to comment on the perceptions of Maori students as to how their experience at college differed from Pakeha students, but two or three issues raised by Maori students are of interest. For example, the extent to which Maori students felt they were called on in class to assist with Maoritanga. One student who felt strongly that this had become an imposition directed his criticisms to the Maori studies department, where he believed some lecturers were depending too much on the skills of students instead of assisting these same students with their development.

Differences in attitudes towards knowledge and learning were expressed by two Maori students. One commented that she did not feel she had learned much through college but had 'taken charge of her own learning'. Pakeha students often came to her hoping for information about things Maori but she told them that she did not see that as her job. 'In a Maori way you don't give that information freely. You've got to work for it. You've got to be worth it'. Pakeha students have the view 'that teachers just give out information freely'. A second student talked about her perceptions of the different ways Maori children learned compared with Pakeha and how this had been heightened by her observation of how Pakeha students reacted at college. Whereas if she did not agree with something the lecturer said she 'just sat quietly, not responding but thinking her own thoughts', the Pakeha students were outspoken in their comments. She was also one of the students, once again not peculiar to Maori, who did not think the college acknowledged what she already knew - in her case knowledge of Maori language and culture. She considered the first two years of Maori studies courses were a waste of time for her.

At the time of our study, certainly in the first year at Wellington, criticism of the Maori studies department for not acknowledging the previous experience of Maori students in compulsory Maori studies courses was quite common. Too much time was spent helping less experienced students. One exasperated student said she already had 'aroha and wairau and wanted to get into te reo'. Another student who had taken Maori right through secondary school considered the courses a waste of time and would not have taken them had they been optional. (Criticism of the limited opportunities to learn Maori language was common by both Maori and Pakeha students in all colleges.)

Changes have occurred since we interviewed students in their first and second years, and certainly in Wellington the development of bilingual courses may have helped to rectify the criticism we had from Maori students. One Maori student, however, felt that the college could only achieve its objective of being a bicultural institution by integrating all courses so that they were taught bilingually. She also expressed some concern for students at present taking the bilingual programme because she thought the present structure meant they were overloaded, having to cover more ground than Pakeha students and in some cases the same ground twice - once as part of their general course, and secondly in developing bilingual programmes to cater for children's needs in all areas of the curriculum.

It is clear that the Maori studies departments, although criticised by both Maori and Pakeha students, were a source of great support for Maori students. One Wellington student commented on how positive the environment was and how good it was for her that the staff were so accepting of her weaknesses and errors because of her limited prior experience of Maori language. An Auckland student commented:

> The atmosphere at the Whare Kai is peaceful, it's just good. I find Maori people to be lovely caring people and it brings our class together. I go down to the Whare Kai a lot and spend most of my time learning or being around Maori culture. You don't see students not doing Maori culture options down there. I was interveiwed on the marae. I just love the friendly atmosphere at the Whare Kai.

When we interviewed this student in her first year she said she was very appreciative of the Maori studies classes. She did not speak Maori when she came to college (although her young son did) but was starting to learn. She described herself as Maori but said her experience of Maori culture had only recently begun for her and she 'grabbed it eagerly'. As her awareness of things Maori and her heritage were growing, her self-esteem was growing likewise. Another student commented that although Pakeha lecturers were supportive they were 'flying in and out all the time' so that students could not rely on them being there if they 'wanted to have a cry'.

A few Maori students referred to the Maori component, or lack of it, in other college courses. For example, one Wellington student complained about the absence of a Maori perspective in the first-year music course. In her view Maori students were expected to introduce Maori songs.

A few Maori students also referred to their dual cultural heritage and the importance of both Maori and English for them, for example:

> Both English and Maori are important. Maori is what I was first. English is to help me to communicate to the rest of the world. It gives me two identities. It is possible to live in harmony. I always wonder if the Tiriti o Waitangi had never

> been signed would I be speaking French and nuking the Chatham Islands or still running around in grass skirts.

We cannot, on the basis of our limited evidence, indicate conclusively whether the views of Maori students on the various equity issues differed from those of Pakeha students. There were certainly points of similarity. For example, it was common for Maori students, as with Pakeha, to say that their awareness of the issues had increased during their time at college, particularly as they affected Maori children. A few commented that they had not been particularly aware of the issues prior to coming to college. Several said they had been unsure of what the terms meant when they filled out the initial questionnaire. One of these said she had since learned about the various equity issues through the bilingual class.

Maori students' reactions to the ways the colleges were addressing the issues, particularly racism and biculturalism, differed one from another in the same way that Pakeha students' views did. Most thought their college was attempting to address the issues although Maori students sensed resistance on the part of Pakeha, some of whom they thought became increasingly antagonistic as the issues were more regularly raised. They felt threatened because they thought that something was being 'taken' from them and 'given' to the Maori. Pakeha students also had a tendency to take offence at general comments which they interpreted personally. If, for example, a Maori student asked them not to do something because it was culturally offensive, they 'all got on their bike and told him not to be racist'. Some Pakeha students resented the fact that they were having to learn a little Maori. As they were never going to use the language, why should they? Pakeha students were also offended because they thought their culture was not recognised. This made them 'anti', so that although the college may have addressed issues of racism quite well, there was a good deal of latent racism among Pakeha students. As a consequence, Maori students may have found it difficult to talk about, for example, the Treaty of Waitangi, because they did not think Pakeha students were ready to do so and would only become more antagonistic. One Maori student thought that Pakeha students were not aware of the importance of the equity issues in society nor aware of their political roles in educating children and the power at their disposal. She thought others simply did not care. Such views were countered by yet another who thought the college and students were 'receptive towards Maori values and culture'.

On the other hand, very few Maori students spoke of any inequitable experiences of which they were aware since they had been at college. One Maori sutdent who said she had not had any inequitable experiences at college did say that she had received a Maori training incentive allowance and some of her peers had objected. She described this as one of the 'few bad experiences' she had had at the college. At an institutional level a few thought they were not 'really catered for because they were not seen as different', or that 'the Maori perspective was not taken sufficiently into account', but none referred to personal racist experiences. As one Maori student commented: 'There might be but I haven't seen them. I have better things to do'.[44]

We have already mentioned that the background of Maori students varied, just as with Pakeha students. This no doubt goes someway to explain the varying attitude of Maori students to issues such as biculturalism and multiculuralism. While it was common for Maori students to express strong views on New Zealand as a bicultural society and the importance of recognising the Treaty of Waitangi (as did many Pakeha), there were a minority of Maori students (again as with Pakeha), who favoured multiculturalism. The comments of three Maori students serve to illustrate this point:

> I think it is important for the people of New Zealand to realise they are one group of New Zealanders. Not European New Zealanders or Maori New Zealanders but New Zealanders.
>
> New Zealand is a multicultural society but other countries are as well. Multiculturalism has to be accepted as a fact of life and we all have to learn how to deal with it in a changing world.
>
> This is not anymore a bicultural society. This is a multicultural society and therefore I respect the values of different cultures.

Yet another Maori student commented:

> New Zealand is bicultural in the sense that there are Polynesians and Europeans. But what about the Asians who are increasing in number? It is multicultural in the sense that in most schools you will find that there are many cultures and descents the children come from, monocultural in that those people however they came to New Zealand come to be New Zealanders, not Irish or Polynesians etc. in New Zealand.

Maori were no more likely than Pakeha to think that racism was a problem in schools, although they may think as one did that although Pakeha teachers are not overtly racist they are 'innocently ignorant' and do not respect Maori culture. The comments of Maori students ranged all the way from one who saw 'white supremacy' ruling various areas of the education system to one who had not seen any racism in any school she had visited. Others were 'unsure' or thought racism might be a problem in secondary rather than primary schools. Yet another Maori student commented:

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[44] This situation contrasts markedly with that reported on by Siraj-Blatchford (1991) in discussing the racism experienced by black students training in Britain where not only were they subjected to racist experiences in tertiary institutions but they were also subject to racist taunts by children and staff in schools.

> Some children are regarded as 'thick' because of an ethnic group. It may be that a different approach to education is needed, some walls need breaking down. Not just from the teacher either. Some racial groups need to look at their own attitudes and give a little as well. Compromise is supposed to be an answer.

As with Pakeha students, some Maori students believed it was parents who held racist attitudes, rather than children, or who passed on racist attitudes to children. One Maori student commented:

> I have a neighbour who has a blonde daughter. She doesn't send her to the local school because there are too many Maori and Pacific Island children and she thinks they would give her a hard time. It is the mother who needs educating. Little does she know that Maori and Pacific Island children are filled with aroha.

In the second year at Auckland, students had a chance to move into a whanau for education classes. In discussing this one Maori student commented:

> There's no racism at college - just a bit of jealousy. Some people just get their noses put out of joint ... the new whanau class in education is so that Maori students won't be intimidated by Pakeha students in the class ... it's not limited to Maori students. It's for those who find it easier to work in a group.... A lot of us don't want to go into that class because we're quite comfortable where we are. We like our lecturers. We warned that the ones who do go into it are not to scorn other Maori friends who don't go into the class. It doesn't mean that they are racist, or not supporting their Maoritanga. It's because they are comfortable where they are. They don't want to be forced into it because they are Maori.

The positive and negative things that they had to say about New Zealand primary schools covered similar topics to those raised by Pakeha students and several commented that one of the positive things was that there was increasing awareness of things Maori, 'Maori culture was being brought into the classroom', and that attitudes were changing.

As we have seen, Maori beginning teachers were usually teaching in schools with high Maori, Pacific Island, or multicultural rolls. When we asked them how the various areas of the curriculum were going, several singled out Maori for comment. Their responses ranged all the way from one who said she would have liked to take over school responsibility for Maori but the principal discouraged her as a beginning teacher, to another who responded that Maori in the school 'was me', or another who had introduced te reo kori or a Maori perspective in physical education. This particular teacher had had a message from a parent via an older child to 'cut the Maori'. The children were taking Maori concepts and values on board but there was resistance from parents. Yet another beginning teacher who had also had resistance from parents, including Maori, now had enthusiastic parent support because the children's self-esteem had blossomed with their increasing confidence in Maori.

Discussion

We said earlier that the issues we have been discussing are complex and warrant a complete study in themselves. We regret that we were not able to carry out any observations of students, nor were we able to complement the students' perceptions by discussions with lecturers, although lecturers did comment in report-back sessions.

We also regret not having more Maori input into the project. In an initial planning meeting at one college, when we raised the question of a particular emphasis on the experience of Maori students, we were cautioned away from any such focus by a Maori lecturer who said Maori at the college had developed their own systems of inquiry and support for Maori students. Questioning of students by an outsider, however well intentioned, would not be welcomed. We hoped to add a Maori dimension by having at least one Maori on the advisory committee. In the first and second years we had a representative from the Maori and Pacific Island division of the Ministry of Education, but when she moved to Auckland, she was not replaced. The colleges selected their own staff representatives, but none selected Maori lecturers. We asked for a Maori representative to be added from one college in the second and subsequent years, but she attended only one meeting. As both the main researchers were Pakeha and female, we employed a Maori male research assistant to interview Maori students in the first year. Unfortunately, he was not available in the second and third years and we were unsuccessful in getting a Maori to replace him.

A further limitation of our study was that we defined the issues of equity too narrowly. We should also have included, for example, the experiences of students and children with special needs and students' preparation to work with such children in the classroom. Both on entry to college and at the end of training, students were asked if there were any particular groups of children with whom they would like to work. On both occasions more than 70% said there were. At the end of the training, if students indicated special groups of children with whom they would like to work, they were most likely to express an interest in working with children from a range of cultures. More than half of these specified multicultural classrooms; about 20 said they wished to work with Maori children and about 10 with Pacific Island children. Other students referred to children for whom English was a second language, particularly Asian children. The next largest group of student responses referred to children with special needs, including physical, intellectual, and emotional disabilities. The number was not, however, much more than half that of those students indicating an interest in working with children from different ethnic backgrounds. These proportions are the reverse of those indicated by students entering college, when a far larger percentage indicated an interest in children with special needs than in children from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

One can only speculate as to why this may be, but it is reasonable to assume that students' experience in multicultural classrooms while at college has probably increased their awareness of the mixed ethnic and cultural composition of many New Zealand classrooms. It is more difficult to suggest reasons why the proportion of students wishing to work with children with special needs appears to have declined during their time at college. One factor may be that, with an increase in children with disabilities in mainstreamed classes, students accept that most classes will include children in this category, and that while they will inevitably be working with them in a normal classroom situation, they do not envisage working with them as a separate group. It is interesting to note that a third of the students had earlier said that working with children with disabilities in mainstream classes was something for which they had *not* been well prepared.

In raising each of the issues separately as we did, we did not underline the interrelatedness of equity issues, nor did we tap student awareness of the political nature of the issues. As Arshad (1992) comments:

> ... racism, sexism and classism are more than just a set of ideas or beliefs - they have become systematised into a philosophy of race, gender and class superiority which is central to the way our society is organised as a whole [Great Britain]. It is naive to hope that the elimination of racism, sexism and so forth will be achieved simply through good will, harmony and learning about each other's lifestyles and cultures. (p. 61)

It can be seen from our account of the students' perceptions of equity issues that the public and professional debates that were taking place nationally and internationally were also important in the lives of the students of our sample while they were in college and during their first year of teaching. On sexism and socio-economic status, there were few surprises in the range of views held, the trends of their thinking, and the positions most now hold.

Those already opposed to sexism had their views confirmed, and they also became better informed about how, as primary teachers, they could combat it in the schools where they teach. Those who still had to face up to it as an issue responded in ways typical of people coming to terms with any large issue that challenges one's sense of self-identity. Some felt they were being pushed too hard in one direction - the college was 'coming on too strong' - and they had to sort themselves out with respect both to the issue and to the way the institutional power of the college was, as they perceived it, being used.

Gender relations were, however, something that all students had experienced daily for as long as they could remember. They had a basis of experience they could relate the issue of sexism to. With socio-economic status, on the other hand, this was not the case with many students. They entered college knowing that socio-economic differences exist, but most had been protected from their adverse effects. For a number it was not until they were beginning teachers that they began to realise how poverty, unemployment, and the lack of a regular breakfast set pre-conditions for educational inequality. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that socio-economic differences were the ones to which our students as beginning teachers gave the highest priority. They were learning from direct contact with children who were experiencing the effects of economic inequality. It was testing their belief in New Zealand as a fair society. It was also demonstrating the limits within which the formal education system and its teachers are in fact able to work.

The issues of racism, biculturalism, and multiculturalism were (and are) more complex and the public and professional attitudes more overtly confused than those surrounding sexism and socio-economic status. The concept of racism - that the institutions of society are constructed in ways that express the dominance of one (or more) races and denigration and oppression of others - is not new, but during the years 1988-93 it was very much to the fore in educational discussion in New Zealand and in the wider international community of teachers and educators.

Racism and Multiculturalism

In the international debate the points at issue were racism and multiculturalism. From the early 1960s policies aimed at increasing understanding across cultures - multiculturalism - had become an important part of educational policy in many countries including New Zealand. They were criticised because, however successful they might be in forming desirable attitudes, understanding, and tolerance, multicultural education did nothing to change the basic socio-economic and political structures of society that created the inequality it was addressing. The racism at the heart of these inequalities ought to be exposed. Schools should therefore be engaged in anti-racist education that would expose the racism at the heart of these inequalities. Murray (1991), for example, quoted in Bullard (1992), attacks multiculturalism for failing to 'tackle fundamental issues of racism.... Instead it helps explain differences in behaviour, in attitudes.... Often the aim of such an approach is to help students "adjust" to living with people who are different -

and in the process, to live with society's racism'. Troyna (1987), in stating his position, claims that:

> … the move towards multicultural definitions of education did not entail any significant departure from the assumptions and principles which underpinned assimilationist conceptions. That is to say, although representing a more liberal variant of the assimilationist model, multicultural education continued to draw its inspiration and rationale from white, middleclass professional understandings of how the educational system might best respond to the perceived 'needs' and 'interests' of black students and their parents. Thus, whichever of these paradigms was in the ascendancy, the power relationship between black and white citizens remained unchallenged. The focus of concern was cultural differences and the extent to which these were regarded as inhibiting the educational careers and experiences of black students. Notably absent from the policy approaches which these paradigms gave rise to was a consideration of the impact of racism on black students' differential access to, experiences in and rewards from the educational system … The education system is in itself a site in which the reproduction of racism is confirmed and achieved.' (p. 309)

The distinction between multicultural education and anti-racist education is more than one of semantics, and may help to explain what some staff in the multicultural and Maori studies department at Auckland were trying to achieve. Critical comments made by students in this report as far as racism and biculturalism are concerned were commonly on the basis of negative experiences with Maori studies courses, particularly in the first year. We believe the job of some lecturers is inherently more difficult than others. The sensitivity of issues handled within the Maori studies department, for example, coupled with the negative attitudes of a minority of students and the short time frames of compulsory courses, led to understandable problems.

This conflict between multiculturalism and anti-racism as the right basis for educational policy also developed in New Zealand. It was fuelled in part by the international debate, in part by developments in Pakeha/Maori relationships. During the 1970s and early 1980s, multiculturalism was interpreted in ways that brought out the primacy of bicultural relationships between Maori and Pakeha. Joan Metge's views, quoted in *He Huarahi*, the Report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education and later taken up by the Department of Education and the colleges of education, were influential. From 1981 primary teacher trainees were required to undertake a 100-hour course in multiculturalism, about three-quarters of which was to be devoted to Maori culture. The courses were taught in Maori studies departments in the colleges.

Biculturalism and Multiculturalism

A recurring issue for students throughout the study was the relationship between biculturalism and multiculturalism. This student concern was part of a wider set of community perceptions. It has become a major issue of public debate whether bicultural relationships between Maori and non-Maori New Zealanders should be given a status of their own - and, indeed a prior status in public policy - or whether they should be considered as one example of intercultural understanding within a broader policy of multiculturalism. As part of the public debate over the Treaty of Waitangi, the former view has come to the fore since 1989, when we first interviewed the students in our sample. Not surprisingly, our students reflected differences of view that are strongly held in the population at large.

The most common criticism of multicultural and Maori studies courses made by students in our study was that they focused on biculturalism when the real issue for them was multiculturalism. We saw that when students entered training, a majority of students felt that honouring the Treaty of Waitangi was an important contemporary issue which would be of significance for their practice as classroom teachers and should be reflected in the college course by an emphasis on the study of Maori language and culture. However, just over a third of all students stated that they either did not know what effect the Treaty would have either on the course or in the classroom, or felt that it would or should have little or no effect. Some of these students expressed negative attitudes towards the Treaty. Similarly, almost half of the students (44%) believed that New Zealand should be a bicultural society, but almost a quarter (22%) stressed the multicultural as distinct from bicultural nature, of New Zealand society.

There were two important issues in the bicultural/multicultural debate raised by students. The first was that the culture of all students at college (as well as children in schools) should be recognised. Some Pakeha students considered the emphasis on Maoritanga meant that their own culture was not valued. The second was that students emphasised in a number of contexts the need for their training to be practical and to prepare them for the 'real world' of the classroom. The student view that an emphasis should be placed on multiculturalism rather than biculturalism increased as the course progressed, as students had experience in schools which reflected the multicultural nature of New Zealand society, particularly in Auckland. Students frequently referred to the large Pacific Island rolls as well as to schools with numbers of new recent migrants. The reality of primary classrooms, particularly in Auckland, is that most schools are multicultural, and where there is a predominance of one race other than Pakeha New Zealanders, it is likely to be Samoan or Tongan rather than Maori.

By 1989 there was active public debate as to whether the emphasis on intercultural studies should be on bi- or multicultural understanding. The colleges of education and their students were inevitably caught up in it. Furthermore, Maori lecturers in the colleges had strong views and these were incorporated in their lectures. Most of them took the view that, irrespective of what the course outlines required, they were teaching courses in Maori culture. Some of them believed that their courses should have a strong admixture of anti-racism. Many of their students, coming to these courses as first-year students and expecting courses in multiculturalism, were unprepared for what some regarded as shock tactics and others as inverse racism. Maori lecturers, supported by some Maori students, thought that this tactic was justified. It was intended to get under the skins of Pakeha students by forcing them to experience what it is like to be treated in ways that did not respect their cultural preferences. We do not know the extent to which lecturers attempted to find out what views students held on these issues at the beginning of their training, and then shaped their courses to recognise these differing views. We would question whether the aggressive approach apparently used by some lecturers was the most effective way of changing student attitudes.

Is biculturalism/multiculturalism an issue all schools should be concerned with, or does it concern only schools and teachers with multiethnic rolls? Beginning teachers teaching in largely Pakeha schools often mentioned that issues of racism were not an issue at the school because the school was monocultural. In saying this they distanced themselves from the issue. As Siraj-Blatchford (1991) comments:

> Teachers in suburban and predominantly white schools need to recognise the importance of anti-racist approaches to their work. The black experience must not be interpreted by white people as cultural or ethnic, it is about the day to day experiences of black people in living within the confines of white social practices and structures. (p. 8)

Siraj-Blatchford (1993), writing about initial teacher education courses in Great Britain, believes that 'multicultural courses are still seen by students and lecturers as an exploration of the problems faced by black people, while the wider context of societal racism and the role of white people is largely ignored' (p. 29). Adrienne Alton-Lee *et al.* (1987) comment that one of the major ways in which people express their cultural identity and allegiance is through the use of pronouns. *We* may understand *their* culture, but so long as we speak of it as *theirs* rather than *ours*, we maintain the difference between them and us. They remind us that it is 'not the dominated who should necessarily be the object of study but the dominant'.

Craft (1989) considers that there are two broad objectives of a multicultural approach in teacher education to be found in most writing on the subject:

> First, preparing students to cope effectively with the particular needs of minority group children; and second, to help student teachers to acquaint *all* the children in their future classes with the realities of a culturally plural society. (p. 133)

Other writers have pointed to the need for Pakeha children to have good role models of Maori teachers. In our study Maori students choose to teach in ethnically mixed schools, but so did some Pakeha. It is unlikely that many Pakeha children will have experience of Maori and Pacific Island teachers. One Maori teacher in our study was teaching in a secondary school where he was responsible for Maori studies. He thought it important for Maori pupils to have him as a role model. He also thought it important for him to try and counteract negative attitudes towards Maori on the part of Pakeha students, most of whom had had no experience of Maori, with their views tending to be formed through negative messages conveyed through the media, for example, unemployment and crime statistics.

As well as having Maori teachers as positive role models, there is the question of Maori children responding more readily to Maori teachers. Kerin, quoted in Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) about her study of interaction in junior classrooms, found that Maori teachers talked more often with Maori children in a teaching situation and elicited more responses from them than European taha Maori teachers or European teachers did (p. 110).

It is a commonplace that Maori have extra burdens and responsibilities placed on them, both in society at large and within institutions, simply because they are Maori. This was true for both lecturers and students in our study, and later for beginning teachers in schools. Maori students and beginning teachers spoke of the expectation that they would be able to take a lead in Maoritanga. A recent study (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1993) discusses reasons why Maori teachers leave the classroom, and refers to their experience in their first year in the classroom. Only a small proportion reported serious problems, but one they did mention was 'being overloaded with tasks and demands because of being "the Maori teacher"' (p. 58).

Simon (1986), quoted in Mitchell and Mitchell (1993), discusses some philosophical and pragmatic issues at the heart of Maori education. She says that:

- treating all pupils in the same way can appear to be egalitarian but in fact discriminates against Maori pupils and reinforces Pakeha dominance;

- Maoritanga in the classroom can be appropriated by Pakeha power to reinforce paternalistic views and to serve Pakeha interests;

- deficit ideology, which sees the Maori child as a problem, maintains the Pakeha-defined goals of the education system as 'natural' and legitimate and at the same time conceals the bias in the system.

She concludes that these concepts result in low teacher expectation of Maori children, misinterpretation by teachers of many Maori ways of behaving, and feelings of resentment and indignation on the part of Maori children when Pakeha teachers criticise their behaviour, while ignoring similar behaviour in Pakeha children (p. 107).

As we did not systematically observe the beginning teachers in the classroom, and as our information about their classroom experience was based on one interview, we are in no position to comment about the extent to which they were themselves either sexist or racist, or the extent to which sexism or racism were present in the classroom. We believe the commitment of beginning teachers to equality in terms of gender, ethnicity, and for children from all social and economic backgrounds was real enough, although the expression was sometimes rather superficial - for example, making sure boys and girls did not line up separately to counter sexism, and laying both the blame and explanation for racism in schools at the parents' doors, or explaining it away in terms of the young age of the children. Is racism not present in schools, or did students and teachers fail to recognise it was there?

Troyna and Hatcher (1992) suggest that in the schools they studied, a visitor observing the children working or playing together would be unlikely to overhear a racist remark or witness any other form of racist behaviour. It would be easy to conclude that racism among children was not an issue that such schools needed to devote much attention to. Similarly, Alton-Lee *et al.* (1987) did not set out to 'uncover or systematically explore racism'. The kind of evidence of racism they uncovered among primary-school-aged children in Christchurch was 'more forceful because it arose incidentally'. Siraj-Blatchford (1993) suggests that:

> ... the problem lies in a general lack of understanding. Most teachers and educationalists still fail to appreciate the effects of racism and sexism, and perhaps more seriously, they often fail to recognise it. They certainly fail to understand their own role in dismantling racism and sexism and the urgency of the matter. In failing to address these issues in a systematic and committed manner, teacher education has contributed to a cycle of reproducing inequality in the education system in general. (p. 5)

A number of the beginning teachers in our survey who worked with young children stated or implied that these children were too young to be racist themselves (independent of their parents) or to be offended by racist behaviour directed towards themselves. We doubt this. So do other writers working more specifically in the field of anti-bias curriculum. In her book *Anti-bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children*, Derman-Sparks (1989), writing from an American experience quotes examples of racist remarks by children as young as two-and-a-half years, and certainly plenty by the age of four or five. She opens her book with the statement:

> Children are aware very young that colour, language, gender, and physical ability differences are connected with privilege and power. They learn by observing the differences and similarities among people and by absorbing the spoken and unspoken messages about those differences. Racism, sexism, and handicappism have a profound influence on their developing sense of self and others.

To conclude, there were differences between the intake groups from the three colleges before they began their courses of training. There were differences in the cultural composition of the intakes which corresponded with the different cultural mixes found in the population in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. There were differences in the way the three colleges organised their programmes. There were differences in the extent to which students, regardless of their college, studied aspects of Maori culture beyond what they did in the compulsory 100-hour courses. There were differences between the colleges in the substance of what lecturers taught in multicultural, bicultural, and Maori studies and in the way they went about their work. There were differences in the experiences beginning teachers had in the schools. It would take a study in itself to interpret these differences, and it would need to be based on much more than the student perceptions, supplemented by interviews and discussion with staff members, that were the basis of this study.

THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF BEGINNING TEACHERS

A beginning teacher is not a fully trained, experienced teacher. It is generally accepted that the first year in the classroom needs to be regarded as a continuation of the pre-service training students have received in college, and the first stage of their ongoing professional development.

Most of the beginning teachers we interviewed regarded themselves as responsible for their on-going professional development and, with a few exceptions, were confident about appraising their own performance as classroom teachers, and planning their own self-learning. Most were emphatic about their responsibility for their own teacher development - 'very much so', 'definitely', 'always have done', 'very self-motivated' were typical comments. While acknowledging that it was appropriate for beginning teachers to 'look to others to help identify weaknesses', most also felt the responsibility of being a 'good' teacher was up to them. They did not expect to be spoon-fed. If they wanted to get ahead, particularly in a tight job market, they needed to set their own goals and do something about what they knew to be weaknesses. Beginning teachers did also comment, however, that although they accepted that their teacher development was their responsibility, their first priority was the successful running of their classroom, which did not always leave the time and energy necessary for taking on more formal teacher development activities.

Those beginning teachers who placed limits on their responsibility for their own teacher development spoke of a joint responsibility between themselves and the school. If schools want better teachers, they have to accept some responsibility for teacher development. This could be done in various ways, for example, by the principal or tutor teacher guiding a beginning teacher in skills they believe they still have to develop; by involving all teachers in school-based staff development programmes; by the school having a good staff library; or by encouraging beginning teachers to go on appropriate courses. The last option was the one most frequently mentioned by beginning teachers. Where individual staff, including beginning teachers, attended courses, they may have had a responsibility within the school for a particular curriculum area, and this usually meant a responsibility to share their experience with other staff. The board of trustees, who have overall responsibility for the school, also have a duty to see that teachers attend appropriate courses.

Once again the importance of the support a beginning teacher received from the school to which he or she was appointed was clear in responses to this question. One of the few teachers who did *not* think she was responsible for her own professional development said how hard it was for a teacher in the first year to know what was needed, particularly if, as in her case, she was left very much to her own devices.

How Beginning Teachers Felt They Had Developed as Teachers

We asked beginning teachers, *How do you feel you have developed yourself as a teacher this year? In what ways have your ideas changed and why?* We expected the beginning teachers to raise issues related to their knowledge of children; the curriculum; their teaching styles and techniques; preparation and planning; and their relationships with staff and parents. If they did not raise such issues, we probed for further information. All but two of the beginning teachers thought they had developed as teachers during the year. One of the exceptions commented, 'I don't think I've grown. I think I'm surviving at the moment from what I learnt out there before I came'. Several overarching themes come through in the beginning teachers' comments:

- The difficulty of singling out any specific area of development, because they had increased their skills across the complete range of classroom competencies, and a sense of being overwhelmed by how much they have learnt - they had gone 'from strength to strength', developed in 'leaps and bounds'.
- Increased experience as the year progressed had led to increased confidence in most aspects of classroom practice. This in turn had led to increased enthusiasm for teaching - they 'loved going to school'.
- The importance of good role models from other experienced teachers.

- They had started out 'wanting to be the perfect teacher', 'not wanting anything to go wrong', and 'having all children performing up to standard'. They had now developed a more realistic approach to what was reasonable to expect children to achieve and what they, as beginning teachers, could achieve.

- Most beginning teachers had entered the classroom with fairly clear ideas of what they hoped to achieve. The first year was essentially a year of refining skills, of experimenting, and of trial and error, as beginning teachers attempted to translate theory into practice.

- The sense of responsibility for the children in their class and the increased maturity associated with taking on this responsibility, particularly for young teachers, who had 'never grown so fast before'.

- As students they learnt to handle children one at a time or in small groups. Total responsibility for a class of their own required a big adjustment.

Various topics emerged from the beginning teachers' comments under the various headings already referred to:

Knowledge of Children and How They Learn

- You have to know children well to teach well.

- Having a class of your own allows you to appreciate the links between theory and practice, which increases your understanding of how children learn.

- You develop a more realistic appreciation of what children are *really* like and 'what makes them tick'. Children do not all want to do what you want them to do even if you are a 'really cool' teacher; you learn to 'read children' better.

- You knew about individual differences but had not really appreciated the range of abilities and backgrounds and the complexity of coping with the diversity; this proved much more difficult than expected, particularly with children from underprivileged families.

- You come to understand the meaning of 'the whole child' and the impact of out-of-school experiences on children's school behaviour and performance. You receive confirmation of the importance of home background in influencing children's development.

- Children are volatile in their interactions with each other.

- Children and teachers learn from each other.

The Curriculum

Beginning teachers made occasional references to individual curriculum areas, but more commonly they referred to their increased confidence across the curriculum as a whole - 'the act of teaching increases your knowledge'. Beginning teachers acknowledged that they had been introduced to the primary school curriculum at college but had not always seen the relevance of courses. Having to deal with the specifics of each curriculum area in the classroom increased their knowledge, as did the discovery of new resources in the school. When they arrived in the classroom they might not have realised 'how much they did not know', but they learnt quickly enough - 'You fall off your bike the first time round, but not the second'. Now that they were in the classroom they could see the relationship of one subject to another more clearly. They could also look at the curriculum as a whole, rather than being influenced by the particular subject enthusiasm of individual lecturers. School principals, more experienced teachers, and advisers may all play a role in extending beginning teachers' knowledge of the curriculum.

Teaching Style and Techniques

The most frequently made comment was that beginning teachers had experimented with a range of styles and then settled for what suited them best, usually trying to be flexible and maintain a range of approaches influenced by the teaching styles of colleagues. Having their own class, after having been a student in others' classrooms, allowed them to experiment and settle for what suited them and their class. Developing their own teaching style was an area where a number of beginning teachers still felt they would benefit from more constructive criticism, similar to what they had had from associate teachers on teaching practice sections. However, tutor teachers tended to fulfil this role. Beginning teachers also referred to:

- Increased confidence, as beginning teachers were able to confirm through having total responsibility for a class that they did have the skills to teach; the chance to translate theoretical knowledge into practice.

- Starting the year with a more structured, formal approach and moving to a more child-centred, developmental model; understanding the value of giving children the responsibility for their own learning.

- The problems of following some of the practices advocated at college, for example, if something is going well stay with it and don't be a slave to the timetable. This was difficult in syndicate structures and with the interruptions typical of a school day, and could be a particular problem in intermediate schools.

- Knowing when children were on task; they did not have to be quiet to be learning.

- Development of a new range of teaching skills appropriate to the level at which they were teaching, particularly if a class was not a teacher's first choice of age group and was different from their sole charge experience.

- Increased experience led to a more relaxed approach, a preparedness to let the children plan more, rather than direct from the front.

- Surprise at how busy they were and how little time there was to give the attention they would like to individual children.

- Problems of catering for individual needs within a class of 30 children, but their developing ability to recognise where a child was at and plan appropriate work.

- Being willing to admit mistakes to children and encouraging them to be risk takers.

- Setting and expecting higher standards of work - early in the year beginning teachers may have accepted poor work, particularly if they were concerned that demanding high standards might mean failure for both pupils and teacher.

Classroom Management Skills: Behaviour and Discipline

Being more realistic in their expectations of themselves and the demands they placed on themselves was a common response. A few beginning teachers implied that some of their initial idealism was the consequence of the college itself being too idealistic in its preparation of teachers. Some lecturers were out-of-touch with 'real' children and the day-to-day reality of present-day classrooms, particularly in underprivileged areas and for schools with high numbers of children from different ethnic backgrounds. Schools in such localities 'came as a shock' to some beginning teachers. A number spoke of looking forward to their second year when they would be able to profit from their first year's experience.

A few beginning teachers admitted to still having problems with classroom management which had 'always been a weak point'. The problem now may relate to managing the behaviour of specific children, for example, a particularly disruptive group of boys. Several beginning teachers said they did not think the college had prepared them adequately to cope with difficult children. This was something they had not really had to face up to on teaching practice sections when the ultimate responsibility was with the classroom teacher. However, most beginning teachers thought their skills had improved. A school with a good behaviour and discipline policy makes it easier for a beginning teacher. Individual teachers spoke of: improved time management; the importance of starting the year with firm classroom discipline and good management; and learning to cope with the myriad of little problems that are with children throughout the day.

Preparation and Planning

Those beginning teachers who commented on their development in terms of classroom planning and preparation tended to say that they were now able to teach effectively with less planning. At the beginning of the year they had 'overplanned', writing down every detail as a safeguard against disaster. They still acknowledged the need to plan to ensure that a classroom runs smoothly and children learn, but now that they were 'into the swing of things' they did not need to spend so much time on it. For many, planning and preparation were activities carried on outside school hours, and many beginning teachers felt that streamlining their planning and preparation was a necessary step to maintaining their sanity and a life apart from teaching. Many of them reflected back on a first term of non-stop teaching where they were taking work home at evenings and weekends. Not only was there less planning and preparation happening in the third term, but what was done was more relevant and better focused on the children's needs. Planning skills were introduced at college, but it was not until a teacher had the responsibility for a group of children that he or she could really set objectives that suited the school's community, and plan to suit individual children's needs. Each school had its own methods of planning, and these had taken over from those advocated at college.

Relationships with Parents

Beginning teachers usually spoke positively of the relationships with parents, including their pleasure at how supportive parents were; parents' gratitude for what the teacher was doing for their child; how much they like working with parents, and their value on trips.

A small group of beginning teachers spoke of difficulties they had had with parents - usually nervousness in talking with parents, particularly if a child was not doing well. A few spoke of anxiety prior to parent-teacher interviews, and said they did not think they had been well prepared for these at college, but were usually pleased at how well the interviews went. One or two were concerned by how parents 'looked up' to even young teachers.

The following are examples of the comments made by beginning teachers when they spoke of the ways they had developed as teachers:

> I think a lot of things are just pulling together - are beginning to make me really understand the things that we learnt in education at training college. They were really meaningless then. Now that I'm in the classroom and I can see for myself how children are learning and developing and what stages they go through, it's beginning to pull together for me. It's not so much of a problem now that I'm physically here doing it. (Auckland)
>
> I probably set higher standards for myself and for my children than I did at the start of the year. You've been on section for a month or maybe six weeks but that's easy to cope with. I guess I was scared to start with. My behavioural standards haven't changed but the standard of presentation and things like that did because I was too scared to set them too high in case I failed I think. The higher you set, the harder you make it or the more challenging. They have still got to be able to succeed but there's got to be a challenge there. (Auckland)
>
> Heaps, heaps! Sometimes I have to pinch myself and think that it was a little over a year ago that I'd completed my sole charge and that seemed like a huge hurdle - six weeks in charge of a class. And now it's been a year in teaching. It's amazing really when you think of it like that - control strategies, management, refining planning, evaluation, just everything. It's been a growing year as I'm sure it will be for the next couple of years. (Wellington)
>
> I think I've probably become a little bit more realistic. I started off having exciting programmes of work running all day, every day, and I realise that I was wearing myself out and the kids were getting tired. I think they work short bursts. I still have problems with fill-in stuff. I can't bring myself to do fill-ins yet. I can see that I might get to it but I think there's a lot of fill-in stuff that goes on in schools but I really don't like it. I've become a bit more realistic. (Wellington)
>
> I tended to stick to one approach but now you get to know the children and you know what they can cope with. Like you tend to use a lot more peer tutoring because you know there are children who can cope and the ones who like reading to older children. (Christchurch)
>
> I've probably become much firmer in my classroom control. I wish I had been earlier on, I think I was too nice to them at the start. Now I think I have a good balance between being a friendly, sort of easy-to-come to person and being someone who is a manager, and who can manage children. I think it took me a while to get that balance in myself. I feel now that I'm more in control of what's going on. (Christchurch)

Beginning teachers varied in the range and amount of professional support they received once they were in the classroom. All schools employing a beginning teacher were entitled to an additional 0.2 teaching entitlement per week in order to assist the beginning teacher's professional development and to release either the beginning teacher or other teachers in the school to work with the beginning teacher.[45] The other teacher released was usually a tutor teacher with designated responsibilities to work with the beginning teacher.

Introduction to the School

The knowledge beginning teachers had of their school at the time they started teaching and the speed with which they 'learnt the ropes' varied considerably and was influenced by such factors as: the time of the year when they were appointed; the size of the school; and whether they were already familiar with the school through being on section or because of family or other associations.

Few beginning teachers had had what they would describe as a specific 'induction' programme, although those lucky enough to be appointed before the beginning of the school year had usually had the opportunity to spend a day or two in their classroom before the year began and to attend a teacher-only day along with other staff. As one would expect, most beginning teachers were at least introduced to other staff and shown around the school; induction experiences ranged from a quick tour around the school to a year-long induction to teaching.

The best prepared for the school year were probably those few who had been appointed before the end of the previous year, and started teaching at the beginning of the school year. One of these described her experience:

> I came in and spent the last two weeks of school here last year. I had quite a bit of time with my tutor teacher and I spent time observing the children who I was going to be working with as well as odd observations of how the junior classes were running and their different programmes. That was a good start because it gave me straight away an overall view of how the junior school operated. My tutor teacher also had a list of the things that we had to organise for next year, which even included coming and looking around this room to see what furniture and equipment was in here. I then drew a plan of how I thought I'd set out the classroom. I looked at the levels of the children and grouped them so that at the beginning of the year I already had them in groups. Observing the children was really useful. (Auckland)

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[45] *See* Ministry of Education (1991) Circular No. 1991/21 "Staffing of Schools for 1992".

The experiences of four Wellington teachers who had spent time in the school prior to the school's opening for the year were typical of other beginning teachers. One had had a relieving position in the mornings during the first half of the year and was appointed to a permanent position for the second half of the school year. The second had visited the school regularly while she was a student and had done her sole-charge teaching practice section there. The third had spent a week with her tutor teacher before she started with her class. The fourth visited the school daily the week before it opened.

0.2 Teaching Entitlement

We did not carry out a detailed study of the use made by schools of the 0.2 teaching entitlement. Our comments are based on beginning teachers' responses to the use they were making of what was commonly referred to as their '0.2 time' as part of the larger question on professional development. What was clear was that, although most beginning teachers benefited from the entitlement, there was considerable variation in the amount of time within the 0.2 teaching entitlement which was allocated to what might be properly described as the professional development of beginning teachers. Those who got the full entitlement describe the support it provided in such ways as 'a blessing', 'lovely', 'it's wonderful', and 'I'm spoiled'. At the other end of the spectrum were a few beginning teachers, bitter and disappointed that they had not received the professional support to which they were entitled through the staffing allocation. Those who said they were getting most or all of the '0.2 time' were: Auckland, 36 out of 54 (66%); Wellington, 19 out of 24 (79%); Christchurch, 18 out of 22 (82%).

Many of those who were not getting this time allocation, or had reservations (particularly in Auckland), were teaching in intermediate or secondary schools where they did receive free periods when their pupils were taking technicraft classes, usually referred to as 'tech time' in intermediates, but this allocation was the same as for any other teacher at the school. The other beginning teachers who were not getting their full allocation tended to be teachers appointed to other than full-time permanent positions, but this was not always the case. Those who did not get the full 0.2 allocation probably also received less professional support from a tutor teacher. Beginning teachers spoke of allocations being regularly less than the full amount to which they were entitled; being perhaps dependent on other school activities; being used by the tutor teacher to work on her own records or other school activities; and being whittled down as the year progressed. In some cases the 0.2 time was regularly split between the beginning teacher and the tutor teacher. There were isolated examples of two beginning teachers sharing an entitlement within a school, or of having to 'fight for entitlement' at the beginning of the year. One or two beginning teachers appointed late in the year, who did not get the entitlement, were so relieved to have a job that they did not feel like complaining. One or two others were so engaged with their class they had 'to be persuaded to leave it' for half a day. However, most beginning teachers appeared to be satisfied with the amount of time allowed and the use they were able to make of it.

There was considerable variation in the ways in which the 0.2 time was allocated. These included one full day a week; two half days; regular but shorter time slots, for example, one and a half hours at a time; and irregular, shorter time slots. The use made of the time varied considerably from teacher to teacher and was influenced by such factors as: the role played by the tutor teacher and other staff who may release the beginning teacher; the time slots by which the time was allocated; the preference of the beginning teacher; the total school programme - for example, the allocation might disappear if the whole junior school went on a trip.

Obviously the shorter time slots, particularly if the allocation varied from week to week, made planning more difficult and restricted the activities which could be carried out in the time. It was not possible to quantify the activities undertaken by beginning teachers in their 0.2 time, but they included *nine* main types of activities:[46]

1. Observations of other teachers, both in their own school and at other schools. At least half the beginning teachers had used some of their time in this way.

2. Being observed by the tutor teacher, principal, or deputy principal (where these latter were not also the tutor teacher), followed by informal discussion or more formal reports.

3. Working in the classroom alongside the tutor teacher.

4. Attending beginning teacher meetings.

5. Attending courses.

6. Classroom planning.

7. Working with small groups or individual children, including those with language and reading difficulties, and special needs children; doing checkpoints for mathematics and running records for reading. (These activities could be

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[46] It was also common for us to interview beginning teachers in their release time.

done by either the beginning teachers or the tutor teacher.)

8. Organising, taking, or preparing resources for school-based activities for which they had volunteered or been allocated a particular responsibility, for example, music, sport, speech competitions, Polynesian clubs, science, and mathematics. (These activities were not always considered appropriate use of the 0.2 time by the beginning teachers themselves.)

9. General classroom administration, and resource making - including report-writing, marking, making phone calls, photocopying, or general 'catch-up' time.

Having extra time for these activities was undoubtedly helpful to beginning teachers, although not all the activities, particularly those in the last four categories, could be described as strictly for professional development. Even when beginning teachers described the support they had received when tutor teachers assisted them in their classroom, it was often in the context of helping with activities which needed 'more than one pair of hands'. Such support certainly eased the burden for beginning teachers and could lead to increasing their knowledge of various teaching techniques, but could only be regarded as professional development in the broadest sense.

The Tutor Teacher and Other Staff at the School

The value of the 0.2 allocation was influenced by the relationship between the beginning teacher and the tutor teacher. For most beginning teachers, other teachers, particularly the tutor teachers, were undoubtedly their main source of professional support. Taking the tutor teachers as a group, the comments made by beginning teachers suggest that they tended to fall into one of five categories:

1. Tutor teachers who were very supportive, had regular planning sessions when they decided jointly on the best use to be made of the time, observed the beginning teacher teaching, provided feedback and constructive advice, and had a wealth of experience and knowledge that they were willing to pass on, but at the same time allowed the beginning teachers to develop their own teaching style.

2. Tutor teachers who were always supportive if asked for advice but were not proactive. Generally they had not observed the beginning teacher teaching or inquired about their classroom programme.

3. Teachers who went through the motions of regularly meeting with the beginning teacher but did not give advice that the beginning teacher found useful.

4. Tutor teachers with whom the beginning teachers personally got on, but who did not have meetings or reports, and from whom the beginning teachers did not get professional advice they found useful.

5. Tutor teachers who were ineffective because they were inexperienced, had very different teaching approaches from the beginning teachers, were not particularly interested, or were too busy within the school to be of regular help.

The majority of tutor teachers - probably between two-thirds and three-quarters - fell into the first two categories, particularly the first. Those tutor teachers acknowledged as a prime source of support were described in terms such as 'very wise', 'persistent, reliable and realistic', 'always available - open door policy', 'great', 'brilliant', and 'a second Mum'.

The same was true of comments about support received from other members of staff. As one beginning teacher put it, 'Ask and you shall receive is the motto here'. Other teachers who are singled out as supportive were: teachers 'next door', always there if help was needed; other teachers on the staff who had been through the same experience recently; teachers within a syndicate; staff with specific curriculum responsibilities; and principals. It was also common for beginning teachers to refer enthusiastically to the total school staff, as one teacher put it - 'Everyone, right down to the caretaker'. Staff were referred to as 'really wonderful', 'amazingly supportive', and 'fantastic'. In the majority of cases the impression given by beginning teachers was of a teaching profession that was: welcoming and respectful of beginning teachers; ready to pass on their knowledge and expertise where this was of help to the new teacher; and supportive in giving practical advice and resources to beginning teachers, although as we saw when we talked about effective schools, there were exceptions.

Other Beginning Teachers

Most beginning teachers found other beginning teachers a source of support. A minority, usually those who were teaching in areas where there were few other teachers in their first year, or were teaching at a different level of the school from most of their contemporaries, said they had little contact with other beginning teachers. The rest got their support in one of five ways:

1. Informal meetings, get-togethers, and social activities, although some had agreed to limit the 'talk about shop'.

2. Beginning teachers' meetings, attended by between 50% and 60% of teachers.

3. Partners or close friends who were also beginning teachers - perhaps through lengthy phone calls for mutual support.

4. Another beginning teacher on the staff or at a nearby school.

5. Links with other beginning teachers' classrooms for the teachers themselves and, in a few cases, with the children, for example, exchange of correspondence between pupils.

We have not done a systematic study of beginning teachers' meetings, but as described to us by beginning teachers the pattern varied from district to district, as did the reaction of the teachers. They were commonly held at a teachers' centre or run by the members of the Principals' Association, or teacher support services. College lecturers may have been involved. The frequency of meetings varied from being held once a month to once or twice a term. Teachers were divided in their views as to whether or not they appreciated 'gossipy' sessions where they had the chance to share successes and problems. The most successful meetings appeared to be those focused on a particular curriculum area or a topic relevant to the first year in the classroom, for example, classroom management. In Auckland, meetings arranged at the West Auckland Education Centre were spoken of enthusiastically by a number of teachers and were obviously pitched at the right level for beginning teachers - informative, without just going over the same material as college. Critical comments included: the focus of the meetings was fine but the person running the course talked too much; some meetings were rather 'wishy washy', but it was particularly important in the first few months to be able to share worries with others; the coverage of topics was too similar to college experience; the topics were interesting enough, but the tutor concentrated on a different area of the school from that where the teacher was teaching.

Beginning Teachers' Links with the College

Beginning teachers divided almost exactly in half as to whether or not they now had any links back to the college. For those who had had contact with the college during their first year in the classroom, the contacts tended to be restricted to one or two lecturers or to one or two occasions. Those beginning teachers who had had some contact with the college had done so in a variety of ways, including: a visit or visits to the college to see an individual lecturer, perhaps for classroom support; visits to talk to final-year students about the beginning teacher's first year in the classroom; attending meetings set up by lecturers; attending beginning teacher meetings where lecturers were involved; attending a course that happened to be located at the college when lecturers may or may not have been involved; visits to the library or resource centre; personal contact with a lecturer who was also a personal friend or shared a particular interest, for example, tramping or politics; membership of a committee, working group, or association which also included college lecturers; and opportunities to talk with a lecturer because they visited the school where the beginning teacher taught, for example, for curriculum or research purposes, or to visit students.

The main reasons given by those beginning teachers who had not had any further contact with the college were: the college was too far away for them to visit easily; the hours when they could visit were limited and were often when lecturers would not be readily available; and the world of school had taken over from the world of college and they no longer felt they belonged, or needed its support. School staff were of more practical help because they were familiar with the children and the school.

Professional Development Courses

It was common for beginning teachers to have attended at least one, and frequently two, three, or more courses during the year. Some of these were sessions which had been taken as part of beginning teachers' meetings, but for the most part they appeared to be courses open to classroom teachers in general, which beginning teachers had chosen to go on or had been selected by the principal. The most frequently mentioned courses were on language, mathematics, reading, computers, and sports or physical education. Others, referred to in each case by five or fewer beginning teachers, were: Maori, social studies, English as a second language, primary progress records, running records, evaluation, discipline, spelling, science, health, art, hearing, talented and gifted children, music, drama, telecommunication, and religion.

Further Study: University and Advanced Studies for Teachers

It was rare for beginning teachers to also be enrolled in university or Advanced Studies for Teachers (AST) courses. Only two or three indicated that they were pursuing such courses of study. The most common explanation given was that in their first year, teachers wanted to concentrate on having a successful year in the classroom and this meant there was little time or energy left to contemplate regular study. It was also common for beginning teachers to say that they intended to consider further study in their second or third year.

Professional Reading

By their own account, beginning teachers are not great readers of professional publications. They tend *not* to turn to books as a source of professional development, rather more than half saying they were doing virtually no professional reading. These latter tended to be apologetic about this circumstance, usually explained by lack of time because of the demanding and time-consuming nature of their classroom responsibilities. Those beginning teachers who said they did read professionally, and few of them could be regarded as regular readers of professional books or papers, said ideas for pertinent reading came from courses or from other staff, including associate teachers while they were at college. Books they found helpful were practically based and related to a particular curriculum area, perhaps one for which they had a school responsibility, or one which was of concern to them in the classroom.

Family Support

Virtually all beginning teachers said they received support from their families and friends. For some this was from parents, for others it was partners, and in a few cases, their own children. One gets a picture of young teachers still living at home or with families nearby very appreciative of family support, or of beginning teachers with partners who are also supportive and, in some cases, long suffering! At least 15 of the beginning teachers said they had particular support from parents or other family members who were also teachers.

New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI)

Apart from one or two beginning teachers who were on NZEI committees, two who were ordinary members, and three who had talked to an NZEI counsellor (one about the school's failure to arrange for her to get her 0.2 allocation), most beginning teachers had little or no contact with NZEI. A few said that a staff member was very active but most beginning teachers did not consider that they had had any direct professional support from NZEI.

Boards of Trustees

Beginning teachers divided into two groups as to whether or not they considered they received any professional support from boards of trustees. About half of the beginning teachers appeared to have little contact with any members of boards of trustees, in some cases saying they had never been introduced to any. An equal number spoke of how supportive and enthusiastic members of their boards of trustees were, usually to the school and staff as a whole rather than to individual beginning teachers. Such teachers had often had regular contact through joint social functions. It was not uncommon for beginning teachers to have children of trustees in their class and to have regular contact with them as parents.

Discussion

In this chapter we have attempted to outline some of the ways the beginning teachers in our cohort believed they had developed professionally during their first year in the classroom and the support they received for their ongoing professional development. The assumption is that teachers are never fully trained - once in the classroom the focus moves from preservice to inservice training. As McGrath (1990) noted in commenting on the need for an extension of the concept of teacher education, 'We desperately need recognition of teacher education as an ongoing essential form of teacher development. Too often preservice is assumed as the finishing point' (p. 3). We have seen that virtually all the beginning teachers in our sample thought they were responsible for their own teacher development. Most also believed they were teaching in effective schools, and one of the most important reasons for this view was the professional commitment of staff. Experienced teachers undoubtedly supported beginning teachers in their on-going professional development. Our data confirm the picture described in the report *Staff Development and Teacher Appraisal* (1992), as part of the 'Monitoring To-day's Schools' research project[47], of the number and range of courses classroom teachers had attended over a two-year period. Virtually all beginning teachers had attended courses as part of their professional development. Some of these were after school or during the weekend, but others were part of a beginning teacher's 0.2 release time. We have referred to the value beginning teachers place on their 0.2 allocation. The activities they described fell within the guidelines in *The Induction and Professional Development of Beginning Teachers in Primary Schools* (1986), although we also commented that the use made of the time could not always be described as strictly for the professional development of beginning teachers.

Prior to the introduction of the school reforms in 1989, staff development was seen as the responsibility of the principal of the school, but the planning and delivery occurred at three levels - national, regional, and local. Funding was centralised with the Department of Education, which meant that staff development did not necessarily meet the needs of individual teachers or schools, and some teachers got more inservice opportunities than others.

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[47] Calder, I.A. (1992) *Staff Development and Teacher Appraisal*. 'Monitoring Today's Schools', report No. 8.

The reform of educational administration placed the responsibility for staff development with the board of trustees of each school. On the advice of the principal, they had to ensure that there was a staff development programme in place which specified clear outcomes and methods for achieving them. It was assumed that staff development would lead to increased knowledge and skills. According to the 'Monitoring Today's Schools' report, most principals see changes to staff development in a positive light. Another finding was 'the sheer volume of staff development undertaken' (p. 11). Sixty-two percent of the teachers had attended at least three courses in the two-year period studied. Because staff development has become more school based, staff have learnt to set priorities for staff development, and the teaching and learning needs of teachers are being more adequately addressed, although there are associated problems, particularly the need for more teacher release time. This was certainly the impression we gained from talking with the beginning teachers in our sample.

The NZEI also stresses the importance of inservice professional development for teachers. In the NZEI *Reports to Annual Meeting* (1993), the statement is made that:

> With the continuing focus upon new curriculum initiatives and changing teaching practices, inservice training is essential for teachers to advance their skills, knowledge and abilities. Inservice training must also be supplemented by access for individuals to personalised professional development opportunities. (p. 27)

Contracts let by the Curriculum Functions Division of the Ministry of Education are a major source of teacher development (Frampton, 1991). Contracts usually support national priorities, particularly the Government's Achievement Initiative Policy in schools and the national curriculum.

B. Bell (1993), in her recent report on teacher development with regard to the 'Learning In Science' project, makes some comments about the experienced teachers involved in that study. The more experienced teachers had to acknowledge that there were aspects of their teaching that were problematic, be prepared to 'take risks' and to leave the isolation of the classroom, acknowledge their concerns to others, and engage with others in a teacher development programme (p. 372). These were not the impressions we gained from beginning teachers, who were aware of their lack of experience, used to working co-operatively with others, and pleased to accept any opportunities to increase their teaching skills. On the other hand, beginning teachers would share with experienced teachers the view that professional development was 'learning and not remedial'. Perhaps beginning teachers have less to 'unlearn' than more experienced teachers.

According to Bell, initially the more experienced teachers, in talking about new teaching activities, wanted to discuss the concerns they had with setting the activities to work with respect to classroom management. It was only later that the discussion tended to be more about the educational issues involved in using the activities, for example, assessment. Later still, discussions enabled new theoretical perspectives to be introduced. To this extent the path followed by the more experienced teachers in terms of inservice professional development is similar to that of beginning teachers establishing themselves in a classroom for the first time. They have to be comfortable with their classroom management 'to get the show on the road' before they can concern themselves with more abstract considerations.

There is a link between this perspective and the desire of first-year students in college to learn some of the practicalities or nuts and bolts of teaching before they could take on board too much theory. It is also a reason for our belief that there are serious limitations to looking only at the first year of a beginning teacher's teaching experience, as this study does. It may be three or four years before teachers feel sufficiently confident that their classroom is running smoothly, to be able to take more time to reflect on the broader educational issues and theories to which they were introduced at college.

Tutor teachers could well provide a valuable role model, not only in the first year, but also in years two and three. More systematic monitoring of the support provided by tutor teachers probably needs to be undertaken. At present the Education Review Office is required to ensure that schools have procedures in place to monitor those things for which they are responsible, but there is no legislative requirement for them to monitor the use schools make of their 0.2 staffing allocation. That is the responsibility of the schools themselves.

The importance of the role of the tutor teacher is confirmed by overseas studies. Huling-Austin and Murphy (1987), quoted in Gordon (1991), writing in an American context, noted that:

> The assignment of a support teacher may well be the most powerful and cost-effective induction practice available to programme developers. First-year teachers who were assigned designated support teachers consistently reported that those persons were who they relied upon most heavily for assistance. (pp. 35-36)

In another study Huffman and Leak (1986) 'found that 95 percent of teachers in one beginning teacher programme considered mentoring an important element of teacher induction'. (p. 15)

Teachers, in common with other professionals, recognise that members must individually and collectively accept an obligation to continue to develop their skills and knowledge. Teacher development is an international concern. Eraut (1987) lists some of the reasons that governments have been giving increasing attention to inservice training of teachers (p. 730):

a) they believe that educational practice needs to be more closely linked to national needs and/or the needs of the local community;

b) approaches to educational change which neglect the inservice dimension are usually unsuccessful;

c) teachers, like other adults, need continuing education to keep abreast of changes in modern society;

d) there is growing concern in some countries about the quality of teaching and career development of those who have had less basic education and training than current recruits to teaching;

e) demographic trends have reduced the demand for new teachers in some countries, cutting off one important source of new ideas, diminishing career prospects, and focusing attention on those teachers who are already inservice;

f) the general feeling that education has failed to fulfil the hopes of the expansionist era between 1964 and 1974 and has created a public pressure for improved school performance.

Writing in the Australian context, Hughes (1991) points to the structural changes which have gone on in the last decade in all Australian states, similar to those which have taken place in New Zealand. Two apparently opposing patterns are operating simultaneously. One is the strengthening of central control, through such initiatives as greater accountability, stronger curriculum specification, and tighter requirements for school evaluation, student assessment, and reporting. The other is a greater level of responsibility devolved to the school level, usually with some requirement that the teaching staff and the school community share in some way in the decision-making process with the school administration (p. 5). Hughes goes on to say that such organisational changes do not imply drastic changes in the education process itself because:

> The learning of students in classrooms does not depend heavily on these factors external to the classroom. It depends on the nature and form of the transactions in the classroom: the words and actions of the teacher; the experiences, thoughts and activities of the students; the classroom climate and organization; the materials and facilities for learning; and the interaction of teacher and students, and between students.

Conners, writing in the same publication, comments that:

> Making the structural changes in schools, developing and implementing national curricula, and carrying out state-wide skills-testing programmes will not have maximum impact on student performance unless the importance of teacher professional development is fully recognised, and continuous, systematic programmes implemented to provide necessary and effective professional development for all teachers.

Conners points out that individual teachers are the most costly 'input' resource in any educational system. Teachers do make a difference, and therefore the professional development needs of teachers need to be considered.

> Teacher professional development is not an isolated event but rather a continuous and career-long process; and, as such, programmes should be systematically planned to take account of the different stages in a teacher's career. (p. 54)

CONCLUSION

This report concludes a longitudinal study of teacher education in three New Zealand colleges of teacher education. We have recorded a process of initial teacher education as perceived by the students undertaking it. We realised from the beginning that any such process must be an interaction between those providing and those undertaking the training. What we wanted to know was what the students brought to the process; how far what they brought was recognised by those organising their course of training; to what extent there was compatibility between the students' attitudes and expectations and the stated objectives of the college; and how students felt about what they were experiencing during the initial training period. The course of training each student experienced was specific to one of three colleges. As we followed them through their courses of training, it was clear that year for year, their views of that experience differed depending on their college.

Student views provide only one perspective on a course of training. Had we interviewed others concerned with the outcome of teacher education programmes - college and university staff, boards of trustees, school principals, parents, politicians, administrators, or members of the business community - they would no doubt have had differing expectations of what colleges should achieve, and differing views about the extent to which they were successful. However, it is the students who go through the courses of training, and their experiences are a legitimate focus for study. While the opinions of individual students may be discounted, views that are more widely shared deserve to be taken seriously, particularly when, as in this study, the views expressed have been formed in the course of three or four years.

An abiding impression from the study as a whole is of a cohort of students who were well equipped for their work as beginning teachers. They had many of the personal qualities usually associated with successful teachers before they entered college. No doubt it was because they could see themselves as teachers that they sought selection as student teachers, and the processes of selection were in the main effective in identifying applicants who had the potential to become good teachers. The intervening college course had enabled them to lay the foundations of professional knowledge and skills that made it possible for them to convert personal commitment into effective teaching. For most, their experience as beginning teachers confirmed their vocational choice. Despite any criticisms students may have had while they were undergoing their college courses, as beginning teachers they were quick to affirm the importance of the central professional emphasis of those courses: the focus on child-centred learning; the need for regular diagnostic assessment of children; the value of integrated approaches to primary school curriculum; the merits of co-operative planning; and the need for on-going, reflective self-evaluation. We were impressed during our interviews by the enthusiasm and confidence of most beginning teachers. Even those who began the year nervously and were sometimes overwhelmed by the magnitude of the job had usually become more confident as the year went on and, judging by their comments, were looking forward to the challenges of their second year in the classroom. This says much for their commitment to teaching, for the cumulative influence of college lecturers and associate teachers, and for the support of their colleagues in their first teaching position.

This is not to say that the courses of training could not be improved. The study highlighted some of the contradictions inherent in any system of teacher education. The recurring and on-going international debate about teacher education indicates how complex the process is. Katz and Raths (1992), for example, writing from the perspective of American teacher educators, suggest a series of related dilemmas inherent in the education of teachers. They go on to say that the essence of a dilemma is that there is a choice of at least two courses of action, each of which is problematic, and

> ... the choice of one course of action sacrifices the advantages that might accrue if the alternative were chosen. In sum, a dilemma is a situation in which a perfect solution is not available. Each of the available choices in such predicaments involves a choice of negative factors as well as positive ones. (p. 376)

In a rather similar vein, Rosemergy (1990), writing in the interim report of a review of the primary programme at Wellington, one of the colleges in this study, warned against those who 'might feel there is a perfect programme and they have designed it' (p. 2).

This study affirms that at present we have a system of teacher education in New Zealand which is capable of producing competent beginning teachers. It highlights the crucial importance of the interrelationships between the student, the college, and the primary school, and suggests that in any modification of present programmes of teacher education there are five main issues and/or relationships which need to be emphasised or reconsidered.

1. The relationship between the colleges and primary schools

This is a key relationship and is linked to the perennial debate about theory and practice which we discussed at length in the body of the report (*see* pp. 87-100). A common underlying theme in the criticism of courses of teacher education by students and others is that training is too theoretical and removed from the classroom. We referred on many occasions in this and earlier reports to students' comments about the value of practical teaching experience. So far as lecturers are concerned, teaching practice in schools is planned as an integral part of the *total* training experience, but students sometimes gave the impression that teaching practice and college courses were two quite different experiences. This finding is not new in the New Zealand context. Ramsay and Battersby (1988) had this to say in their conclusion to their study of in-school training for student teachers:

> … one point stands out very clearly. Trainees have developed a mind set which places theory in one compartment and practice in another. The structure of the teachers colleges, the patterning of school based experiences and the nature of those experiences, the nature of the knowledge presented within teachers college courses, and an emphasis on a non-critical and non-reflective approach to in-school training, reinforces the dichotomy between theory and practice. In many respects we found we were dealing with a self perpetuating model. The associate teachers and the teachers college staff are themselves products of a system which has as its basis a gap between theory and practice. Even though all of the people we interviewed and surveyed complained about the gap, to the researchers it seemed that it had become taken-for-granted, and was now part of the conventional wisdom of teacher education in New Zealand (p. 15).

Our conclusions, though similar, are somewhat different. One benefit of longitudinal studies is that they can trace the evolution of people's thoughts. Our students were far from passive recipients of the courses laid out for them. Many did give the impression that educational theory was a set of principles which they had to learn at college and put into practice in the classroom, but most were quick to detect 'dichotomies between theory and practice' and to that extent were reflecting on their experiences and thinking of ways in which things might have been done differently and better. Their problem was that they were powerless to change what had already been laid down for them. And, as we have emphasised, our beginning teachers demonstrated that they did have well-developed habits of reflection and self-evaluation, developed through the college programmes, which they were applying to aspects of their work that they were personally able to change. Where we do agree with Ramsay and Battersby (and also with Rosemergy (1990)) is that collaborative approaches are necessary if the thresholds between theory and practice are to be crossed. Practice-based theory, where students are encouraged to develop their own theory by reflecting on practice which in turn encourages better practice and the development of more theory, suggests that a key to the successful preservice training experience of students, and their continuing inservice development as teachers, is the interactive relationship of the college and primary schools. A logical outcome is for the role of the school and classroom teachers in the training of students and the induction of beginning teachers to be more readily acknowledged and clearly articulated and for lecturers to be more closely involved in classroom practice, particularly that of their students. Schools and colleges are not 'rivals' in the training of teachers.

Students value teaching experience because of the practical on-the-job training and the feeling of being immersed in child-centred activities, and belonging to a school. But as well as feeling part of the human context of the school, students need space and time to evaluate critically what is going on in classrooms. The interaction of reflection and practice is central to an effective training process, and reflection is enhanced if ideas can be shared with others. If students in training are to develop a habit of reflection-in-action and develop their own personal educational philosophies, they need to take into account the ideas of other students, the practitioner's knowledge of classroom teachers, and have access to the wider theory of the college lecturers. Because reflection in action is situationally dependent, lecturers need to be familiar with the students' classroom experiences.

A collaborative team approach with selected college staff, curriculum specialists, and groups of students working together in schools would require more than reorganisation of the responsibilities of college lecturers and the rethinking of college programmes. Associate teachers and tutor teachers in the schools are essential to any effective collaborative approach. Schools would need to have extra resources, particularly in terms of release time for teachers on a regular basis, so that they could play a fuller part as members of the practical training team. More needs to be done, too, through Advanced Studies for Teachers (AST) courses and other forms of provision, to devise programmes of study for associate teachers, tutor teachers, and school principals so that they can keep themselves up-to-date with developments in teacher education.

Even with extra resources, the main commitment of classroom teachers must remain with their pupils. Some would welcome the extra challenge of working with students as well as children. Others find it difficult enough to keep on top of classroom planning and implementation without having to engage in reflective dialogue with students. There will always be aspects of training which have to be undertaken separately. Classroom teachers are too busy to discuss fully with students issues such as curriculum development, child development, and assessment policies. Nor are all college lecturers remote from the classroom. Many of them may well have had more varied classroom teaching experience than the associate teachers to whom students are assigned. We saw in this study that although students were quick to criticise shortcomings in individual lecturers and some college programmes, most accepted that teaching practices advocated by lecturers were in the vanguard of educational opinion. Lecturers regard themselves as a part of the teaching profession and also have daily teaching responsibilities. Nor is the answer simply for colleges to employ more teachers with recent classroom experience. If we are interested in development in educational ideas and practices, we need leaders in educational thought in tertiary institutions. Students need to be intellectually challenged as well as prepared with craft skills. Research and development is just as necessary in education as it is in the commercial world, if we are to avoid the stagnation of constant recycling of existing practice.

The importance of the relationship between colleges and schools raises broader issues than the way teaching practice is handled within the college programme. There is a developing professional co-operation between many college lecturers and classroom teachers in the New Zealand context, stimulated in recent years through teachers taking advanced studies courses at the colleges, and lecturers and teachers being engaged in joint curriculum development projects. All colleges do offer training courses for associate teachers, but the role of tutor teachers is not acknowledged by finances or staffing. Those beginning teachers who developed a good relationship with their tutor teacher valued the relationship and considered it a factor in the speed and confidence with which they settled into the classroom. For these students the tutor teacher became a bridge between the college training and the beginning teacher's induction to teaching. A number of beginning teachers suggested that tutor teachers had to assist them with activities for which both they and the tutor teachers thought the colleges should have prepared them more thoroughly. Because the role of the tutor teacher is so important, it would be enhanced if tutor teachers were familiar with the training just completed by the beginning teacher, and college lecturers were familiar with the activities undertaken by tutor teachers in that role. We do not know to what extent this is the case, although at least one college, Auckland, has introduced one-day training courses for tutor teachers, run by the lecturer at the college responsible for liaison between the college and the school.

2. The length of the college course

There has been a continuing debate about the length of courses of primary training. Our data suggest that the real issue is not the duration but the content and organisation of courses, whether they are two, three, or four years long. It has to be remembered too that the years under discussion are college years, not calendar years (a three-year course comprises about 114 weeks of formal course requirements).

The students in our sample undertaking a two-year course were all graduates or near graduates on admission. Generally speaking they thought their course the right length. They would not have wanted it to be shorter, but they would have liked the time to have been used more productively.[48] They felt, however, that apart from anything else, they needed two years to get the feel of the schools.

The views of the students undertaking the three-year course differed according to their college. Their views, recorded at the end of their third year, were also no doubt influenced by their feelings about their final-year courses. In Christchurch, where students considered their third-year course to be a good one, 62% thought the course as a whole to be about the right length. In Auckland, where students were critical of their third-year course, 61% thought the course as a whole to be too long. In Wellington, where the third year was well regarded by students, 52% thought the course as a whole to be too long and 43% about right.

Student views in each case were influenced by their perceptions of the relevance of the year's course to what they thought of as their chosen career. The criticism of the first-year courses, particularly in Wellington and Christchurch, was that they were not sufficiently challenging and too theoretical, when students wanted to gain practical experience of children in classrooms. We were not surprised to find that students pursuing university studies confirmed conventional wisdom - they found their university studies were more demanding than their college of education courses. But we were surprised to find that some students were critical of their first-year courses because they were thought not to be as demanding as their seventh form studies. The criticisms of the third-year course, particularly in Auckland, was that it was too light at a time when students were becoming more aware of the impending practical requirements of classrooms, and that the internal organisation of the college and staff workloads did not allow them to add to their personal timetables by studying additional subjects they thought to be necessary for their preparation for teaching.

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[48] *See* Renwick, M. and Vize, J. (1991) *Windows on Teacher Education: Phase 2*, p. 159.

Our view that the issue is probably more one of appropriate content for length rather than length *per se* is borne out by the fact that although more than half the students in Auckland and Wellington who took a three-year course thought the course was too long, most of those students who took a four-year B.Ed. course in Christchurch or conjoint B.A. in Wellington, thought the length was about right. (It may also be significant that most of the four-year students trained at Christchurch, which was also the college where the lowest proportion (38%) of three-year students thought the course was too long.)

However, despite the fact that a proportion of three-year students may have wished the course to be shorter, there were a number of areas where their practical experience, at least in schools, was limited. Students are required to have experience in all curriculum areas, but problems of co-ordinating the college programme with teaching practice sections may mean that, for some students, this does not happen, or at best happens infrequently. We saw earlier, for example (see p. 67), that despite three years of training, more than 50% of students said they had seldom or never had a chance to see science, music, or health taught in schools, and 80% or more had seldom or never observed drama, computers in the classroom, or Maori. Of particular concern is the number of students who appear to lack confidence about using computers to assist children's learning in the classroom, particularly in Wellington and, to a lesser extent, Auckland.

Revised college programmes may have already gone some way to meet these student criticisms of their course of training. Furthermore, the introduction of the B.Ed. degree in all colleges means that, in the future, the course of training for most students will be four rather than three years. This means that the reaction of the students in our study was to a training experience which, over the next few years, will have changed considerably. Current and future students also enrolling at the university may well be less likely to find the combined college and university workloads too light.

The views of our own cohort of students about the length of training and college workload also need to be seen in the context of factors outside the control of the college, particularly the increased costs associated with training and the poor job prospects for trainees. Students faced with the costs involved in training and uncertainty about winning a position at the end of their course may well wish to complete the course as quickly as possible.

3. 'Outcomes' for primary programmes

When we discussed the notion of a 'good' teacher in the body of the report (see p. 117), we noted that the colleges varied in the extent to which they had articulated for students a college view of a 'good' teacher, which is in effect what the programmes of teacher education were aiming to produce. We think that it would have been helpful for the students in this study if the colleges had had an agreed statement of 'outcomes' for college programmes of primary teacher education, and for these to have been made explicit for students so that they had criteria by which to judge their performance. Individual lecturers, courses, and departments did exactly this, but at the time of this study, although the colleges had stated objectives, the end products of their programmes - competent beginning teachers - were not clearly described.

We realise that teachers with widely differing attributes and skills may all be 'good' teachers. We do not want to suggest that colleges should be attempting to produce 'look alike' beginning teachers, all with the same specifications, or that courses of training should be reduced to easily identified and measured lists of competencies and that mastery of these would necessarily produce 'good' teachers. But there must be an agreed-upon common core of requirements which lecturers need to make explicit so that students know what they have to achieve and can set their own goals.

There have been developments in the three colleges included in the study since it began. In Christchurch, for example, an attempt has been made through community consultation to establish what consumers want; what are the competencies a newly trained teacher should have? The college has now listed 20-30 major competencies, for example, the need to be a reflective teacher. Each course has been scrutinised against these competencies. An important feature of the new courses has been the restructuring of the professional education and professional studies components of courses and the role of the professional studies tutors. These tutors now have a major role in focusing on the competencies, for example, classroom management and assessment. These important aspects of a student's professional development are also related to specific professional education courses. The role of the professional studies tutor is to assist students to develop various skills and competencies in a context of overall professional development. In Wellington, a recommendation of the 1990 review of the content and organisation of the primary programme was that

> … an agreed statement on outcomes of the primary training programme at Wellington College of Education should be developed. It should be based on a clear educational philosophy and on up-to-date research findings and should form

the basis of all programme development, as well as of the student evaluation system.

The move in Wellington towards an 'outcomes-based' approach to describing the primary programme was influenced by: the move to an outcomes policy by bodies such as the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and the Teacher Registration Board (TRB); the worldwide trend to developing ways of establishing equivalence of qualifications between countries; and the empowering of learners by stating expected learning outcomes, so that learners have a clear picture of what they are aiming towards. The statement of outcomes for the primary programme refers to beginning teachers who will be competent in: the skills of teaching; attitudes towards self and others; school curriculum; and knowledge in and about education.

As these developments in the college programmes have occurred since the students in our cohort began their training, we have no way of determining whether the fact that colleges have moved towards more clearly articulated outcomes for their programmes of primary training have translated into a more coherent view for students of what it is they are required to achieve to become competent beginning teachers. However, we saw in the body of the report how successful the developments in Christchurch were in contributing to the satisfaction of third-year students with their courses.

4. Students' personal biographies

We have emphasised the centrality of the students' personal biographies in their success as students and later development as classroom teachers in this and earlier reports. We have discussed the importance of the college recognising the skills students brought to the college, along with the complexity of the issues related to recognising prior learning (see p. 143). However, while the colleges acknowledge the need for students to recognise individual differences among pupils, we doubt that they are as successful in planning programmes which recognise individual differences among students, including differences in what they bring with them to the college, and differences in the length of time it will take them to be ready for the classroom. Individual departments and lecturers undoubtedly did make an effort to establish the learning needs of individual students, and the extent to which students were satisfied with college programmes was influenced to a certain extent by the degree of student choice between and within courses, which allowed them to build up a programme to suit their own needs and interests.

Linked with questions of workload and length of the college course is the college's ability to be flexible in providing courses of varying lengths, to take account of students' previous experiences and the skills they bring with them to the college. Guidelines for the recognition of prior learning recently published by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) should give colleges an impetus to undertake a more systematic consideration of the issue. Colleges have no doubt considered other ways of packaging their course of teacher education, but there certainly appears to be an argument for more flexibility, with a 'step on, step off' arrangement to suit student needs. This is particularly so if teacher education is seen as a part of lifelong learning. There is also an argument for the preservice component being supported, once students are in the classroom as teachers, by adequate teacher support and inservice training.

5. Professional teacher development

Preservice training needs to be seen in the context of a teacher's continuing inservice development once in the classroom. No initial course of training can equip a teacher for for years in the classroom - there is too much to learn and the culture of schools is constantly changing. Rather than talking about preservice training with modest 'top ups' of professional development, teacher education should be a continuing process of education and training throughout a teacher's career. The framework of reference of any scheme of teacher education has to be much greater than the time spent in initial college courses.

This perspective was certainly borne out by the beginning teachers in our study. Most thought they were teaching in effective schools, and one of the most important reasons they gave for this view was the professional commitment of staff. Experienced teachers, particularly tutor teachers, undoubtedly supported beginning teachers in their on-going professional development. This raises questions about the relationship between preservice and inservice training, and the role of the school in inducting beginning teachers. The fact that beginning teachers are not eligible to become registered teachers until they have had two years' classroom experience indicates that at least that amount of time is required before beginning teachers can be considered to be competent. No course of training can possibly meet all the needs of individual students. A college programme will never be able to prepare beginning teachers for *specific* classroom situations. The role of the school in assisting beginning teachers with the more specific 'competencies' necessary in a particular school and for a specific age group of children should be more clearly articulated.

Where To From Here?

We interviewed beginning teachers once, towards the end of their first year. There is always a danger in giving too much weight to opinions expressed at any one point in time. It would add greatly to our understanding of the induction of beginning teachers and their future teacher development if the study could continue by following the classroom experiences and career paths of the beginning teachers in our sample. Our impression from the beginning teachers was that rather than being at the end of their training, they were just embarking on an exciting and fulfilling journey of discovery into the real world of the classroom. Furthermore, it would be interesting to know if, as they become further removed from the college, they revise their views of the training they had received. As they become more secure in the running and management of their classrooms, will they be more or less inclined to focus on the broader educational issues to which they were introduced at college? It is a commonplace that teachers' attitudes towards their teaching role change over time. Katz (1992), for example, suggests that there are four stages in teacher development: survival, when the main concern is to get through the day; consolidation, usually after the first year, when teachers are able to focus on specific tasks and begin to see the implications of theory in a practical sense; renewal, often in the third or fourth year, when a teacher starts looking for new developments and approaches, in an attempt to vary their programme; and maturity, when a teacher has come to terms with being a teacher, and is asking more searching questions about educational decision making and broader philosophical issues. We doubt that the development is as linear as this, and it obviously varies from teacher to teacher. Some of the students in our sample were addressing the broader educational issues when they were students. Others probably never will. The New Zealand experience needs to be studied.

In the introduction to this report we acknowledged the need for teacher education to be viewed in a broad social context. Many of the issues we have raised must be seen against the backdrop of a rapidly changing social and economic environment. The need for a better educated workforce, for example, implies higher levels of professional competence in teachers at all levels. The move towards a graduate teaching profession means that teacher education as we have known it will continue to change as colleges of education become more closely affiliated with universities. In this changed academic environment, working through the perennial issue of the relationship of theory to practice may well become even more important.

We are not in a position to comment on the links between the new B.Ed. programmes and the primary school. Most students in our study who were also enrolled in university courses found them directly relevant to primary programmes. We noted elsewhere the problems colleges have had in the past in providing valuable teaching experience sections for all students, in schools easily accessible to the college and universities. This problem will be compounded with more students taking university courses and college courses having to be arranged to fit in with both university and school timetables. It will also be interesting to see if the move to making primary teaching a graduate profession overcomes the lack of intellectual stimulus in the college programmes mentioned by some students and referred to in our earlier reports. Monitoring the interaction of B.Ed. programmes and students' experience in primary classrooms would be a useful topic for future research.

PROFILES OF BEGINNING TEACHERS

TUI

Tui is a Maori beginning teacher responsible for 19 six- to seven-year-olds in a suburban school with a largely Maori and Pacific Island roll. She entered college as a school leaver from a state coeducational secondary school. Tui was influenced to go teaching by her own teachers and her parents. She thought the education system would provide good career opportunities. As well as enjoying being with children, Tui had a particular concern for Maori and Pacific Island children. When Tui started training she thought she would like to move from primary to secondary teaching in the future, although she was less sure of this by the time she had completed her training. She still regarded primary teaching as a 'stepping stone' to work in other areas of education but was now inclined to think that she had rather drifted into teaching.

When Tui was interviewed for selection to college she had the opportunity to be interviewed on a marae but was unable to avail herself of the offer because the times clashed with school examinations. She could have taken a support person with her but decided that she could handle the interview herself and that not having a support person would make her look more independent.

When Tui began training she thought a good teacher should be confident, show leadership skills, be able to cope under stress, be understanding and fair to all. These were all qualities she believed she possessed to a high degree herself, particularly her leadership skills. She thought modern teaching methods were the most positive thing about New Zealand primary schools today, along with the diverse cultural activities that are available. She thought the most important change likely to occur under the school.

reforms would be greater involvement of parents. Tui thought that the most important influence of the Treaty of Waitangi would have on her classroom practice would be that more Maori language would be taught and all children, not just Maori, would be made aware of contemporary issues affecting Maori. Not that she thought racism was an issue in primary schools, although it was in secondary schools. Tui also thought it was important for New Zealand to become a truly bicultural society before all sense of cultural values, especially for Maori, were lost.

Tui's attitude towards the college and the courses fluctuated during her time at college. She enjoyed her first year in the main, was a bit bored in the second year, and thought it was good both socially and academically in the third year, largely because the lecturers' expectations of students had increased and there was more pressure to work hard. Tui liked the way lecturers dealt with people; the college was very much 'people first, paper second'. The professional studies courses in the third year were taken by lecturers with recent classroom experience and were practical. Maori studies in the third year was also great, with its emphasis on political as well as educational issues. Students were helped to come to terms with conflict situations they were likely to find in the schools. The health course she did in her third year, which focused on human relations and how to relate to people, was particularly helpful when Tui had her sole charge section because she had a lot of contact with parents and was able to put some of the ideas into practice. The amount of work to be covered in the third-year science course was a bit of a shock but Tui found the approach to teaching and learning helpful. One criticism of the college courses Tui had was that there was so much to learn that more should have been tackled earlier. The first two years seemed a 'bit of a cruise' and then so much had to be 'shoved into' the third year. Part of the pressure was because of an increasing awareness that not all students were going to get jobs and they were going to have to compete against other more experienced teachers.

Tui thought she already had many of the personal skills and abilities to be a teacher when she entered college, but she later realised she had a lot to learn. The college course did make a great difference - it really 'taught her how to teach'. She has learnt so much about kids' behaviour and control, for example, and about such things as the teaching of reading, not to mention broader questions such as the impact of social issues on the teaching profession. This is partly because the college has such an 'open atmosphere' and everybody's point of view was listened to.

As a student Tui was particularly interested in the role of parents in the classroom. She thought parents had a general concern for their children's education and what is going on in the classroom - they did not try to be 'horrible or in conflict with the teacher'. She always found them easy to talk to and, as a student, hoped they would play an important part in the classroom in her first year. She will be happy to have parents in the classroom at any time. Tui thinks her main responsibility to parents will be to make sure the children are learning in her classroom.

When Tui was at college she thought teaching practice sections were important, although she did not often have the chance to see the kinds of teaching practices advocated at college in schools. In Tui's view this was because college lecturers were not in touch with the reality of the classroom and they prepared students for ideal situations. In the schools there are not enough hours in the day to cover all the things advocated by lecturers and in the manner they would like them taught. Teachers are constantly having to compromise. However, Tui had the chance to see most curriculum areas taught, not that she saw much physical education, and taha Maori was only evident at the school where she did her sole charge. There were no occasions when she saw practices in schools that were in advance of those advocated at college.

When Tui started applying for jobs towards the end of her third year, she applied for 39 positions all over the North Island in rural and urban areas although she really wanted to teach in the city where she trained, which is where she finally got a job. She felt she was well ready to teach at the beginning of the year. When we interviewed her towards the end of her first year she thought teaching was 'great, excellent but tiring. The money was not very good, but the job was worth doing'. One of the best things about the job was the staff who were all quite young. She had learnt 'heaps and heaps' from them and her classroom programme was running well. Tui likes the community of the school and the 'kids are really neat'. There was really nothing that was not going well. If Tui did have a problem she went to her tutor teacher and between them they were always able to fix it up.

Looking back on her training, Tui thinks the college was too lenient - if students had had to work harder they would have learnt more. On the other hand, she thinks she was well prepared for all the curriculum areas. She does not think she was prepared for the social issues she has had to cope with such as hungry children and children with inadequate clothing. She does not think students were adequately prepared for the organisational and management side of the classroom and are 'thrown in the deep end' when they get their first class, but they learn quickly. Maybe it is just that she did not realise how much she had learnt until she was forced to cope in her own classroom. If there is one subject for which Tui did not feel well prepared it is BSM maths. In her view lecturers gave students the books, said they included lesson plans, and for students just to go through the book. In reality BSM is a hard resource to manage and teachers have to have a thorough understanding of the principles on which it is based.

Tui is pleased she made so many resources at college, particularly in physical education and language. She has used them all, partly because the school, although reasonably well equipped is in a low socio-economic area, and does not have the money to spend on extra resources so teachers end up making their own.

Tui thinks the school is effective, particularly in the junior area where the classes have small numbers which allows for plenty of individual attention. This is a conscious policy - senior classes have higher rolls. The teachers in the junior school really know what they are doing and the principal is very supportive. Most of the teachers who teach in the middle and upper school also have junior experience which is an advantage. Tui is enjoying teaching J2 although she had thought she would have preferred older children while she was at college. Because she concentrated on older age groups at college she does not think she was particularly well prepared for juniors. This is one reason she did not feel well prepared to handle BSM. Most other curriculum areas are going well. Science is a bit of a problem because the school is short of resources for young children, but as Tui works on an integrated approach to teaching science topics are often covered through whole language. The whole morning is devoted to reading and language based around the theme for the week. The teachers also integrate BSM with language because it is a language-based programme. Tui is just coming to terms with the computer she has access to. The computers are pretty old and there is no money to update them.

Tui has two children in the class who have learning difficulties in oral language, written language, reading, and mathematics. They are about a year behind the other children in these areas. She finds it particularly difficult to cater for them because they have joined the class during the year. Both children are on reading recovery programmes and the reading recovery teacher is excellent, and makes a point of keeping Tui informed about the children's progress. They also have extra help with mathematics and attend an ESL programme.

Tui does not share her teaching with any other teachers but she is teaching in an open plan space with two other teachers which she says has been a great learning experience for her. The school had been running on a whanau system until this year when the parents demanded that the organisation be changed back to single cell units.

Tui is grateful for the help other teachers have given her with evaluation, assessment, and monitoring of children's progress because she thinks she was not well prepared in these areas at college. She thinks the lecturers regarded assessment as of secondary importance, whereas she now thinks it is vitally important. The school policy is that a teacher must be able to justify to parents why a child is at whatever level they are for all subjects, which means that all running records must be up to date. Quite often there is school-wide planning and evaluation. At the moment staff meetings were focusing on Maori culture and language which is planned as a school-wide approach.

When we talked about the various equity issues, Tui explained that the school had a multicultural rather than a bicultural approach because all children's cultures were recognised. Most of the kids are pretty proud of what they do and a lot of them speak a language other than English. The Samoan parents expect their children to speak English at school because they speak Samoan with their children at home. There is a lot of input into the school from Samoan parents and there is one Samoan staff member. The parents expect the children to 'shut up and behave - that is their culture'. The families are struggling to make ends meet. Tui estimates only about two parents of children in her class have jobs. Some children come to school without lunch, and money for school trips is a problem. Staff often raise money for trips. They always give plenty of notice so that families can start saving. A lot of kids save change from their lunch money. If they cannot pay they still go. Tui thinks the children have become hardened to not having any money and accept it as a fact of life. Because all the families are the same it is not so obvious to them. Parents are meant to pay an $8 donation to the school but the school is lucky if it gets half of that amount.

Sexism is not an issue in the school except for the attitude of Samoan parents to their sons 'who are the top bricks on the chimney and the girls are low down'. If there is not enough money for all the family to go on a class trip, the boys will go first. The teachers also have problems encouraging the Pacific Island parents to let their girls take part in sports activities. Having a Samoan teacher on the staff helps.

Tui feels largely responsible for her own on-going professional development, although decisions about staff development - particularly which staff will go to which courses - are agreed upon by all staff because of budgetary restrictions. Rather than individual staff going on courses, staff prefer that someone visits the school so that all staff can benefit. For example, the staff have just spent a night on a marae discussing the Maori syllabus. If one teacher does go on a course, that teacher has an obligation to share what has been learnt with the rest of the staff.

Tui thinks she has quite good skills of self-evaluation but if she misses anything it is usually picked up by other staff, particularly the assistant principal. She comes around once a fortnight to look at all teachers in the junior school with regard to their planning and things like the classroom environment, and teachers get a written report. Tui does not feel she is singled out as a beginning teacher. She feels the staffroom is really an 'open forum' where there is always someone to make a suggestion - it is a 'positive way of fixing things'.

Tui feels she has developed so much as a teacher - she has learnt more in 10 months in the classroom than she learnt in three years at college - that it is difficult to single out the ways she has developed most. She has certainly learnt much about catering for all the needs of all children, particularly the aspects of their life outside school which impinge on the classroom. The 0.2 allocation which Tui gets is helpful. She uses it in a range of ways, including visiting other classes, taking the Polynesian club, checkpointing kids for mathematics which takes so much time in class, taking some else's class at a different level of the school, and coaching miniball. She also goes to beginning teachers' meetings twice a term. She does not have any contact with college lecturers apart from one lecturer who is doing some research in the school but she would go back if she had the chance. Tui gets a lot of support from her family although none of them are involved in teaching.

Tui wanted to be a 'good' teacher and she thinks she has achieved that. Lack of school resources is the only thing that is preventing her from being a more effective teacher. She hopes that she will get a permanent appointment at the school next year and would like to broaden her experience by teaching at other levels of the school.

TIM

When Tim completed his three-year course of training, he was one of the fortunate students appointed to a teaching position after applying for only 10 jobs. However, the school at which he is teaching is not in a locality where he would teach from choice, because most families are on low incomes or unemployed. In Tim's view, this is a contributing factor to management problems in the classroom.

Tim was 18 when he entered college after attending a state coeducational secondary school. He had not had any previous work experience, but he had learnt to use computers confidently through a polytech course, and he was a keen sportsman, which he was sure would help with physical education when he had a class of his own. (Because he was 'really sporty', physical education was one of his first choices of optional subjects in his first year, although he was disappointed that there was no opportunity to play sport at college - nor were there other clubs to join.)

Primary teaching was Tim's first choice of career. He has always enjoyed being with children (whom he considers to be 'innocent') and was influenced to go teaching by other college students as well as by teachers at his secondary school. He was attracted to the career opportunities in education, along with the working conditions such as salary and holidays. By the end of his training, however, Tim said he rather drifted into primary teaching and would have preferred to train as a secondary teacher. He still expects to make a lifelong career in education.

When Tim started college, a number of the skills and qualities which he thought he possessed, and which he thought were the reason for his being selected, were also ones Tim thought important to be a good teacher - confidence, fitness, patience, and love of kids. He thought computer skills were also helpful. As the course progressed, Tim thought lecturers implied that a good teacher was one who plans well, has lots of 'hands-on' activities for children, and has done well in all their tests and assignments at college, preferably getting 'distinction'. He felt lecturers suggested that the better qualified a teacher was in terms of the more degrees they had, the more effective they would be. Tim doubted that this was so. Whether or not children learn depends on a teacher's teaching styles and strategies - not whether as a student the teacher got distinctions for assignments, or has a university degree.

Tim does not think university study is necessary to be a good teacher, and as he does not enjoy study and did not think that he could cope with the course academically, he was not interested in attending while he was at college. He thought the only reason other students went to university was to get more money later, which he said reflects 'a crazy system. If you don't go to university but concentrate on being a better teacher you don't get paid so much, whereas if you go to varsity and get more knowledge, but not necessarily about teaching, you get more money'. He thinks that many of the students who did not attend university will actually be the more capable teachers because they spent more time concentrating on their teaching skills. He does not intend to undertake a degree unless the employment situation gets so bad that it is impossible to get a job without one. He thinks that all college students having to enrol for a B.Ed. now is a mistake. The college programme is becoming more competitive and academic, which is a move in the wrong direction.

When Tim started training he thought that the ability to organise his own learning, particularly managing his time efficiently and completing assignments, were likely to be problems for him. Finances were also an issue, although he did have some savings from working the previous year. He thought students should be paid in the same way as apprentices in the various trades are paid. He did not like the idea of having to pay back fees to the government. He thought he would find it a problem to be away from old friends, although he looked forward to making new ones. (These factors were still problems six months into the college course. He was also missing his family and his girlfriend whom he broke up with after a year and a half. This fact, along with the socialising at the hostel, got in the way of his work for a while.) Tim was most looking forward to teaching drama and art and least looking forward to teaching mathematics.

Tim's views on children's learning were partly confirmed and partly changed during his college career. When he began training, he thought children learnt best if they were relaxed and interested in what they were doing, and that they did not succeed at school if they did not like the teacher, were subject to peer pressure, or were bored. After three years at college, he still held these views but he was more aware of the importance of family and home background - a factor which has been reinforced through teaching in an area where a number of children come from under-privileged backgrounds. Earlier he thought that if you told children something they would remember it. He now realises that even when you tell some children something 'heaps of times' they still do not remember, which, as he says, 'is fair enough', because he found in some subjects at college, 'things went straight in and out again'.

Tim does not have a great deal of interest in broader educational issues. He had not read any books or articles on educational topics, nor seen any films or TV programmes about education, prior to entering college. He thought then that one of the most important challenges facing New Zealand primary schools was rude children due to watching too much television. His vision for New Zealand in the year 2000 is a country which is 'clean, Christian-ethics orientated, united, and smiling'.

When Tim began training, he did not think that sexism, socio-economic status or racism were issues in New Zealand primary schools, although children might be influenced by the racist attitudes of their parents. At college he thought the males had a tough time. The girls in the class, particularly the younger, 'rich and pretty' ones, were inclined to get into cliques and snub him when he was the only male in a class. Being surrounded by females made him more quiet and subdued. He did not really think much about sexism as an issue - as far as he is concerned, 'people are just people'. For similar reasons, he was not really aware of racism as an issue before he came into college. He now thinks the college helped to create racist situations by emphasising it so much, but not really talking about how to eliminate racism in the classroom. He thinks some of the things that went on at college were 'really weird and not helping at all' - really inflaming the problem, particularly female students like the girl who shouted across the classroom, 'What do you think you are, you white, racist male!'

Tim has no knowledge of Maori, and could not understand a word of the college marae welcome. He thinks it should be optional for teachers to take courses in Maori, and does not intend to do so himself.

After six months at college he was aware that he needed to do a bit of extra work on his mental arithmetic and spelling. He passed the required spelling test but when he was on section he had to ask the kids to look up words in their dictionary which he should have known how to spell. Tim feels he has always been good at mathematics, particularly calculus, but as he has used a calculator since he was quite young, his tables are not that good.

In the first year at college the lecturers did not spend much time talking about the school reforms - in fact they seemed to be in 'mass confusion' about them, as was Tim. The same was true in the second year. Tim had picked up what he knew by 'opening his ears' in the staffroom. One topic that did interest Tim was corporal punishment. He does not think it should be banned because the 'majority of parents hit children to keep them in line - violence through love.' He does not think teachers should 'beat kids' brains out', but he does think corporal punishment should be there as a last resort.

From the beginning of the course, Tim felt that the teaching practice sections were where 'you get all your learning', and there were not enough of them. Some courses were well planned, but others were not worth turning up for. In education in the first year, for example, Tim did not get on with one of the lecturers and he thought they spent too long on lesson plans - three hours planning a half-hour lesson, including where you were going to be standing during the half hour, was unnecessary. Tim did not think the lecturer wanted to teach the course and there was a bad rapport with the class. Language and mathematics, on the other hand, were really practical and Tim enjoyed them. So much depended on individual lecturers. He thinks the system of appointing them must be 'pretty Mickey Mouse, as some were excellent but others were hopeless'. The science programme during orientation week so impressed Tim that he decided to take science instead of his original choice of art which he was 'useless at'. He was later pleased with his decision because the lecturers in science did an excellent job. The lecturers in science and mathematics stood out as 'key events' in the first year. Some students did not think mathematics should have been compulsory but Tim disagreed. He thinks it is the 'number one' subject that parents ask about at parent-teacher interviews.

Tim was not particularly satisfied with the way his work was assessed in his first year because he thought too much emphasis was placed on work that 'looked pretty', but he was satisfied with his teaching practice assessments. In the second year he was similarly not satisfied - probably he was 'anti' because he failed a test - but he does think the lecturers beamed contradictory messages, with the education lecturers talking about the pitfalls of testing children, and other lecturers carrying out similar tests on students. When he failed an education test, it was not another test he needed but more individual help with the ideas talked about - which is what he would hope to do with a child in the classroom. He thinks he will make a good teacher but right now (in his second year), he finds the 'big thick textbooks with all the theories' something he 'does not have a mind for'. In his second year, Tim thought lecturers were not sufficiently realistic and were training students for ideal situations.

After two years at college Tim felt he could cope in the classroom 'as long as nobody was looking!', although he did not think he had yet been well prepared to set up programmes, for example in reading and mathematics. Some of the students who came back from being on section at that time were having second thoughts about teaching because they realised how much work was involved but Tim really wanted the opportunity to 'give it a go'. He felt his confidence had increased 'up the ladder' in social studies which he previously had thought was just about 'how the Indians live', but he now realises is to do with 'people's self-esteem and things like that'. He was also very pleased with his progress in reading and science. He has always enjoyed science but his confidence in science has been transformed from enthusiasm for the subject to knowing how to teach it. The lecturers in social studies were so good that they influenced his teaching style in other subjects. Tim also thought the approach in social studies fitted in with Bruner's theories of 'teaching the child within', which came through in the education lectures. One reason why Tim was so enthusiastic about the social studies department was because the lecturers were so practical. They talked about the preparation necessary for field trips and the things a teacher is responsible for are 'quite awesome'. Tim had not realised that it was necessary for the teacher to investigate the area to be visited prior to taking the class, or that the teacher was responsible for all children even if one gets separated from the group.

By his third year Tim was rather less motivated to be a primary teacher than when he began the course, largely because he realised how much work there was to do to become a teacher and partly because he found college 'a real depressing place', but he expected to get his enthusiasm back by the time he finishes the course.

When we interviewed Tim towards the end of his first year in the classroom, his overriding impression of teaching was 'full-on work'. For the first two terms he got up at 7 o'clock and worked until about 11 p.m., which he found very stressful, particularly in the second term when he had to write reports as well - something he does not think college prepared him well for, particularly how to 'tell the bad news', when teachers are not allowed to say a child is lazy. One of the things that bugs him is having to summarise children's progress through the junior school on the buff cards.

Things have improved now that he is better organised, but initially he had problems with organisation and planning as well as marking - it was just so hard to be sure he was doing the right thing, particularly with children's stories which he went through scrupulously. Now, his improved management is one of the things that pleases him most. Also he is able to leave the classroom, and the children get on with their work.

Tim's views on his training have not really changed now that he is in the classroom. He still thinks a lot of it was useless. The course could easily have been covered in two years. It was crazy that on some days students only had one lecture - he was in a 'stressfree mode' for three years, which meant that teaching came as a real shock. He still thinks the science and mathematics courses were among the best because lecturers provided so many resources, which Tim uses in the classroom, although as he had hoped to teach forms 1 and 2 some are not appropriate and he has had to adapt them a good bit. The fact that he had the same tutor at college for three years who kept an eye on him was also beneficial.

Tim does not really think he was ready for the responsibility of his own class at the beginning of the year. For one thing he did not know how to handle some of the problems with parents which he has had to face, including letting a child go off with her parent in the middle of a custody battle. The parent took the child to Rotorua without letting anyone else know. There should have been more guidance at college for situations like this. He also thinks he did not have enough units of work planned when he left college so that he 'ran dry pretty quickly'.

Tim is pretty happy with the school he is in which is attached to a high school. The staff get on well, pull together, and do not talk behind each other's backs. Tim had hoped to teach standard 4 or forms 1 and 2 and he does not think the college courses prepared him particularly well for standard 1. He certainly concentrated on the senior level in the third year and did not focus on standard 1. What little there was 'washed over him because he did not really note the standard 1 things'. He thinks students need to be made more aware of the employment situation and encouraged to prepare for all levels of the school.

His lack of preparation for standard 1 meant that Tim had a few problems with several subjects at the beginning of the year. In reading, for example, he had great trouble sorting out appropriate books for the various levels. Oral language was a disaster because he tried news but the kids just sat on the mat and did not do much. Tim's tutor teacher later introduced him to an excellent book, *Adventures in Thinking*, with lots of ideas for buzz groups which work really well. Tim does not like the BSM approach for maths which he has flagged away - there was too much confusion about what kids were meant to be doing and what they should be learning next. Tim now uses a book which he got from the education centre called *Topic Based Maths*. The book is clearly set out with objectives, resources, and assessment tasks. He thinks the whole school will move to this approach next year.

Tim had expected to spend a lot of time teaching science but the school policy is that science is a 'topic' subject which is taught at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and has to take its turn with such things as music and social studies. He has not achieved anything like as much as he had hoped to in social studies because of the age of the children - the first three or four weeks, Tim does not think they understood a word of what he was saying and he had to learn to simplify his vocabulary.

Tim has been able to put his computer skills to good use and snapped up the available computers for the first six weeks when no one else wanted them and he concentrated on making big books with the children's stories. Music is going well because Tim plays a guitar and has also invented a coded message game which the children really enjoy. Tim also enjoys art although, as he says, 'it's hard to get standard 1 to do "nice pictures"'. He feels the college course was designed more for the students themselves than as a guide as to how to teach art - even if you spent three years doing art that was the case. He wishes he had had more practical advice about how to set up an art class and how to look after materials, like paint brushes, which are always drying out. Teachers cross-group for physical education and he has taken his class on a camp for two days 'which pretty near killed them'. The class has also visited a museum and he and the classroom have spent quite a bit of time on a computer nature park programme. A specialist teacher comes in to take Maori.

Tim has several children in the class with learning difficulties. His main approach is to put them on a contract which means that they have to assess their own efforts throughout the day and then take their work home and get their parents to sign it. Tim has learnt a lot about assessment through his tutor teacher, particularly the use of checklists to keep track of children's progress.

Tim feels responsible for his own teacher development. He set high standards for himself and is critical of his own performance. He knows there are some areas which he has to work on but finds it is hard to push himself to do extra reading. He is much more confident than he was at the beginning of the year and has learnt how to 'use his brain' and adapt activities from books rather than rely on ready-made resources.

Tim appreciates the support he has had from his tutor teacher and from the principal. The beginning teacher meetings have also been good - it is great to know there are others in the same boat. You learn a lot from their experiences. Tim has also taken a mathematics course in school time.

Tim has not yet measured up to his own expectations of himself as a teacher, but there is still time to develop. He has not done all the wonderful and exciting things he had hoped to do, but that will happen. The biggest constraint is having time to fit everything in. His main concern for next year is to get a permanent job.

Sally applied for 15 teaching positions before being appointed to an inner city school with a mainly Pacific Island roll where she teaches 31 junior school pupils in a single cell classroom. She was reasonbly flexible about where she was prepared to teach but did want a school in the upper half of the North Island. The school has a staff of 10 and was not one where she had had a section when she was a student.

Sally was 18 when she started training. She had gone straight to college from a coeducational secondary school but felt that she had already had a number of experiences which would help her as a teacher. These included babysitting, gymnastic coaching, leader at a YMCA camp, head girl at college, a member of the Duke of Edinburgh scheme which involved service to the community, as well as being a counterhand at a takeaway bar. Primary teaching was her first choice of career and she expected to make a lifelong career in education although initially being a student was probably as important to her as thinking about her future as a primary teacher. Before she was interviewed she had read the Picot report which she thought would mean more communication between teachers and parents and more opportunities for teachers to introduce their own ideas. She thought the interview panel was looking for applicants who were confident, involved with others, had a sound knowledge of social issues, and were friendly and outgoing. She herself thought that the qualities necessary to be a good teacher were: confidence, creativity, good communication, trustworthiness, honesty, and reliability. These were all attributes she believed she had.

When Sally started the college course, she was most looking forward to teaching oral language, science, and social studies and least looking forward to teaching maths, computer studies, and music - she thought she would need extra help with computer studies. (At the end of her training she was still most looking forward to teaching social studies and least looking forward to computers in the classroom, but maths was now a subject she was also 'most' looking forward to teaching.) Sally said she was most looking forward to teaching eight- to ten-year-olds and interested in working with 'any type of child of any culture or background'. This was still the case at the end of her course, although she ended up teaching five- to seven-year-olds. She would have preferred the slightly older age group but felt she could not be fussy when jobs were hard to get.

Before she started the college course, Sally did not think sexism, racism, or socio-economic status were issues in primary schools. She thought the Treaty of Waitangi would have some influence on her practice as a classroom teacher because it was important for children to be aware of other cultures. (When we later interviewed Sally as a beginning teacher, she still did not think sexism, racism, or socio-economic status were issues in the school, although she did think they were issues teachers should be aware of.)

In her first year at the college Sally was enthusiastic and looked forward to going every day. She thought the lecturers had a lot to offer students. The work was not hard but it was 'intense'. College was very different from secondary school and she was really enjoying it, particularly the practical side on section.

From the outset she thought students should have spent more time in classrooms - a lot of the education lectures were repetitive, although she did learn a lot about management of the classroom and co-operative teaching. One of the most important things she learnt was the need to be able to take positive criticism. She could not quite see the point in writing 1,500-word essays on the difference between evaluation and assessment. The first-year language course was excellent and the picture cards students produced were helpful in encouraging conversations with children in the schools. Sally also learnt a lot from the educational media course. She was enthusiastic about science and physical education and one of the younger maths lecturers who had recent school experience. The first term lecturer had droned on and Sally had been bored.

Sally was encouraged by her first section because her associate teacher thought she already had a lot of the qualities and abilities of a good teacher - he would not have expected to see them so well developed until the third year. The visiting college lecturer was meant to visit twice but only came once. However, Sally found the help he gave her was 'really inspiring' and she used his advice during the rest of her section.

Sally did not enrol at university in her first year because she thought she would like to concentrate on her college work. Another factor was the distance she had to travel to college. Sally also said she had not had enough advice about university work. When she first came to college she was quite keen but she really needed to have a one-to-one talk with someone about courses. She was confused about how many subjects she could have taken and how many papers were involved. She thought then that it was important for students to do university work because there were a lot of branches to education outside the classroom and not everyone wanted to be a teacher forever. She thought she might enrol at university in her second year but she did not do so. By the end of her training she said she had not been interested in doing university work and felt she had made the right decision not to enrol.

Sally had initially wanted to be a teacher because she thought she could relate to children well. By the middle of the first year she realised that that was not enough - a teacher also has to be able to put across information in a logical, methodical way. This was one of the reasons she thought she could do with extra help in the methods of maths teaching.

Sally was pleased with the effort most lecturers made to treat students as individuals. Her tutor was really good but so was the educational media lecturer and language lecturer. The only weak link was the education lecturer who did not seem to want to be at the college. Her heart was obviously not in her lectures and this was a poor example for students.

Sally had not expected to have any problems at college and when we asked her during her first year if she did have any she said, 'No, her life was hunky dory'. She still lived at home and was lucky to have very supportive parents.

Sally liked her second year even better than her first year, partly because she had got to know so many people - college was just like one big family. She thought the Interdisciplinary Studies programme was particularly good. One thing she was critical of was the college methods of assessment. She did not think the lecturers had an overall policy and no matter what a student's performance was like, all the results came out the same. She also thought some lecturers did not abide by their own rules and were too inclined to accept late work which Sally found frustrating when she worked hard to have everything up-to-date. She thought there was poor communication between lecturers about assessment. She thinks distinction awards are made on the basis of quantity rather than quality. She would have appreciated more oral and written feedback rather than just a grade.

Once again Sally was critical of some education lecturers - the theories of all these 'old people' were so boring and Sally was sure she would forget all about them once she was in the classroom. She cannot understand how some lecturers were able to stay on at college. One in particular 'hated women' which was an immediate obstacle. The reading courses on the other hand were excellent. The lecturers were so enthusiastic and had so much practical advice to offer. Physical education in the second year was also 'brilliant', and Sally also enjoyed maths because it was relevant to the classroom. Social studies was a 'favourite' subject, once again because of the lecturer, and art which Sally took because she thought she had a weakness proved to be great and she has a lot of material to use in the classroom. Of the second-year courses she rated social studies, reading and maths as the most useful in terms of her future as a teacher. Sally thought the balance between courses which focused on the individual development of students as people and those that focused more specifically on them as future classroom teachers was about right.

Sally was very critical of the Maori studies department. She thought the lecturers set a poor example as far as treating all students equally. Several of her friends could not take the criticism of pakeha and left the class. She initially thought it was a pity students only had 50 hours of Maori studies in the first year but when she realised how prejudiced the lecturers were she was relieved.

In her second year Sally was not aware of a college view of what makes a good teacher. She supposed it was one who was well organised and had a lot of resources. She thinks the problem is the range of lecturers, some of whom have been at the college for years and others who have recent classroom experience. The older ones advocate a more structured approach and the others tend to encourage a focus on children learning for themselves. Sally's views on how children learn have certainly changed. When she came to college she thought that teachers gave out textbooks, set work, and marked it. Now she cannot stand textbooks. Teachers are there to guide and advise children and provide opportunities for them to learn, 'not just to drum information into their brain'. Sally thinks her parents have been a big influence on the way she thinks but other influences on her teaching style have been her associate teachers and some of the lecturers. Sally thought that she would be able to cope in the classroom if the course was only two years long. She would still like to learn more about the organisation and management of a teaching programme, but you probably never stop learning about those things.

In her second year, Sally felt she was definitely more motivated to be a teacher than when she began the course. She just loves teaching kids. She thinks she would like to teach for a couple of years and then go overseas - perhaps to Japan to work with a missionary. Money will be the main problem.

In her third year Sally still found the college a good place to be. She loved the atmosphere at college and when she was busy she enjoyed it. The trouble was there was not enough to do and she began to lose enthusiasm. As she had paid $1700 in fees at the beginning of the year she expected a heavier workload. A lot of the work was a repeat of the first year and students had so much spare time - 'it's disgustingly light, just like a wasted year'. Other students who had taken different options may have had a fuller programme but the course could definitely have been done in two years. Students were quite frustrated by the lack of stimulation. Sally thought it was a common view amongst students that third-year assignments were just like those they had done in the first two years - she actually used a first-year assignment to fulfil a second-year requirement. The college definitely needed to review the content of the courses.

At the end of her third year Sally said she was about as motivated to be a primary teacher as when she began the course and that primary teaching was still her first choice of a career. We were surprised, however, that she also said she would have preferred a career outside of teaching, and when she was asked what she hoped to be doing in five years' time, she said she hoped she would be employed as an air hostess!

Once in the classroom as a beginning teacher Sally found the work challenging and tiring but she really enjoyed it. One of the reasons the job was challenging was that the school had high expectations of the teachers who were considered to be accountable for everything they did - not to mention the challenge of starting off with 36 children. The third term was definitely easier than the first two, once you knew the children and routines were established you can get into the 'meatier' and more exciting bits of teaching. Sally has been greatly helped by a 'brilliant associate teacher' and the fact that she has done six professional development courses during the year which have been really beneficial - she thinks more relevant than what was learnt at college. She thinks she is handling all the curriculum areas well. There is nothing that is not going well in the classroom because when Sally felt she needed support she has just asked for it from other colleagues, particularly her tutor teacher.

Sally has found much of what she learnt from college courses in language and maths very helpful but she considers that a lot of the rest of the material she brought away from college is not sufficiently practical to be of value. One of the problems is relating what was learnt at college to the particular school. Even the approaches to teaching reading, which Sally thought were handled well when she was at college, she now finds are not appropriate for this school, apart from her skills in keeping running records. She accepts that this may be partly because she concentrated on older children when she was at college. She did not focus on the junior school for any of her assignments.

The school has a new principal and Sally thinks she has made a big difference to the effectiveness of the school. The principal expects a lot from the staff but she works in with them 'at their level', and encourages them to get as much professional development as possible. She has helped the school to set clear goals so they have a real vision of where they are going to be in five years. The school is also strong on appraisal of children's work. At the beginning of the term, a class-in-action plan and goals are set for each child. These are monitored at the end of each term to see whether or not the goals have been achieved and a new plan prepared. The board of trustees and parents work well with the staff as a team so that the school is effective with children and the community.

There are only two aspects of her classroom programme which Sally feels are not going well. One is Maori culture which 'is going nowhere' because there are no Maori in the class. The class is doing a two-month unit on the koru but Sally is not really very interested herself. Most of her pupils are Samoan. The other 'problem' area is computers. Sally has not been able to do much because the school has been burgled twice and the computer disks stolen.

Sally does not have any problems with children with learning difficulties. There is a good reading recovery programme in the school for children who need it and the tutor teacher comes into the class every day to take a group of children who are a bit behind.

Sally also has teacher support for a few children with difficulties in written language and the teacher aide takes a small group with learning difficulties. There are no children who have problems in maths.

The junior school staff plan topics together but do not share teaching. Language may be integrated with the social studies or science topic being studied, but subjects are otherwise handled separately.

Sally thinks that the responsibility for her professional development is largely hers, but that the school has a responsibility as well. She thinks she has developed a great deal as a teacher during the year. The school she has been in has been very influential. Sally has regularly had her 0.2 entitlement on a Friday which she sometimes uses to talk with her tutor teacher or for general planning. She also goes to monthly beginning teacher meetings. The school has quite a few links with the college in that maths lecturers come and work with children in the school and there are students on teaching practice sections. The principal has close links with the college and Sally has been back to talk to third-year students.

JACK

Jack was 22 when he started his three-year course at the college of education after having worked in an accounting firm for a number of years. He comes from a stable home background which he thought would be an important contributing factor to his success as a teacher, as would his experience of other cultures through overseas travel and of young children as a sports coach. Before Jack began the college course he thought a 'good' teacher had empathy with children and understood their needs; could relate to children from different cultural backgrounds; was patient; and could motivate children who were unwilling to learn. He thought children learnt best from their peers when they were thinking for themselves and discussing topics in small groups. Jack also thought they learnt a lot in the playground. Family situations and background were probably the main reason why children do not succeed at school. Children with learning disabilities such as hearing defects or dyslexia also have problems, as do those where there is lack of understanding between the teacher and the pupil. Jack thought the most important things he will be able to do for the children in his class will be to make them aware of their importance as individuals by treating all children as equals and building up their self-esteem; by teaching them at individually appropriate levels; and by preparing them to cope with the world around them and to further their education.

At the beginning of the course Jack was most looking forward to teaching written language, drama, and physical education. The only subject he was not looking forward to teaching was computer studies. At the end of the course he was still most looking forward to teaching physical education but also reading and social studies. He was still least looking forward to computers in the classroom but he was also least looking forward to teaching music, health, and Maori. (Before starting at college he had voluntarily taken a course of linguistics in Maori to try and overcome any language barriers.)

When we interviewed Jack in his first year he was enjoying the college. He thought it was 'a really good learning place' and particularly liked the opportunity to share ideas with other students. One of the strengths of the college was the ability lecturers had to encourage even shy students to contribute to group discussions.

In the first year about half of the courses were compulsory and about half optional. Jack thought this to be a good balance. Jack chose physical education as an option, because he was particularly interested in the subject, and music, because he felt he needed extra help.

From the outset of the course, Jack thought student attitudes had a lot to do with how much they got out of the course. In Maori studies, for example, if students did not want to try and learn any of the language or talk about cultural issues then they just switched off. The same with art. If students had negative attitudes and thought they were not good at art, that was it. Jack thought the art classes covered so many topics and media that could be used in schools that there was something in it for everyone. He was particularly impressed with the first-year reading courses which were often based in schools and very practical. However, he also enjoyed the theory of teaching reading and learnt a lot about reading ages and how to handle the various levels. If he was honest about maths, however, he did not get much out of the first-year course and he went into the schools without much knowledge of the maths syllabus so he felt a bit lost. Science, on the other hand, particularly guidance with how to discuss scientific topics with children, was helpful. He had not enjoyed either maths or science at school, but he had come to college after working for five years and was determined to get good marks during his three years and get out into the classroom.

Jack found it hard to comment on whether or not students were treated as individuals - so much depended on individual lecturers. He thinks it would have been helpful if advisers had had more regular time with students to help with decisions about course selection, for example.

Jack did not enrol at university mainly because as he had been working for five years he was not sure how he was going to handle written assignments and how heavy the workload was going to be. As it happens he settled in quickly and did not find the course as demanding academically as he had hoped so at that stage he intended to do university work in his second year. In his first year Jack was very disappointed in the quality of the advice he had been given about university study. One meeting was arranged but the lecturers were late turning up and nobody seemed to be very clear about what was going on. According to the calendar students are encouraged to go to university but it was hard for students to get enough information about courses and what they were meant to be doing in time. (In fact Jack did not enrol at university. At the end of his training he said this was because of time factors and because he did not think university study was necessary to be a good teacher.)

The second year at college was more challenging academically. Some of the selected studies courses Jack thought were brilliant - he took physical education and social studies. He thought the range of courses offered at college were excellent and the needs of students were well met, although a couple of the constraint courses were a waste of time. On the other hand the maths, science, and professional studies courses on reading Jack took were excellent.

There were a few problems in the second year in terms of college organisation - or lack or organisation! The college was going through a 're-shaping' phase - lecturers who did not turn up or were unprepared because they were not expecting to take particular classes - a little bit of chaos, but nothing too major. Maori in the second year was an improvement on the first year but health was a disappointment and the audiovisual aids course was marginal.

Jack thought that lecturers, particularly those with recent classroom experience, did present a coherent and co-ordinated view of how children learn, but he was not aware of a college view of what makes a good teacher. This topic had been discussed in a professional studies course in terms of what was expected of beginning teachers and also students on section. 'The students spoke of how nervous they were when lecturers came to visit them because they did not know what was expected of them. Were lecturers looking for clear lesson objectives, or managment techniques?' The lecturers undertook to prepare guidelines, but the students thought this should have been done for them the previous year.

Jack thought the main influences on his own teaching style were the way he had been brought up and taught, and his associates. In his second year he was more motivated to be a teacher than in his first, largely because of his experience in schools - when he was in the classroom he did not want to come back to college which he thought was a good sign because the classroom was where he wanted to be.

When we interviewed Jack in the third year he had just completed his six-week major responsibility in the classroom. He had enjoyed being in the classroom so much that coming back to college was a bit of a letdown. However, he thinks the college course has become more demanding with each year which is a good thing. Jack thought college courses had prepared the students well for various curriculum areas particularly reading. Because he thought he had developed well professionally he did not have any real criticisms of the college. The environment of the college was such that any student who wanted to put in the time and effort to prepare to teach is able to do so - the resources were all there. Three years is probably too long. On the other hand, there were so many courses on offer that Jack was happy to spend the three years at college. The professional studies course 300 was probably the most important course of the whole three years because it linked to teaching practice and students' philosophies of education. The course also helped students to prepare CVs and job applications as well as writing pupils' reports. In Jack's view the lecturers in the professional studies department had been excellent all the way through.

Jack felt he had learnt so much during his three years at college that it was difficult to single out how he had developed professionally. His knowledge of the primary school curriculum had undoubtedly increased markedly. He had modelled himself as a teacher on a number of good associates. Through professional studies courses he had learnt a good deal about child development which was new to him even

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though he had knowledge of individual children through his family. His previous work experience had introduced him to management and planning but he still felt he had learnt at lot about both topics in relation to children and classrooms. There were two courses Jack wished he had taken: one on English as a second language and one on school games. Two optional courses which he took he thinks should have been compulsory: teaching children with reading difficulties and issues in education. Jack had regularly or frequently seen most curriculum areas taught in schools. The exceptions were computers, Maori, music, drama, and health. However, apart from health he was confident about the curriculum content of all areas of the primary school curriculum. He was also confident about running an integrated programme. He was disappointed that he had not had the chance to learn as much Maori language as he would have liked but the Maori studies department do not see the college as a place for language acquisition.

When he began the course, Jack did not think sexism was an issue in primary schools and he maintained this view throughout his training, nor did he think the males at college were sexist. He acknowledged that because teaching was a female profession most school staff find it refreshing to have a young male on the staff. Jack does not consider himself to be racist - he has friends of many cultures - nor did he think racism is a problem in schools. He supposes he has had his awareness of equity issues raised while he has been at college but he still holds similar views to those he held before. He thinks the school reforms may result in greater differences between schools from varying socio-economic backgrounds.

Now that Jack has finished his college course he is more motivated to be a primary teacher than when he began. His key beliefs about education are that the needs and capabilities of children need to be taken into account; that teachers need to be accountable to their client, that is, families and the school; and learning takes place at different levels for different individuals. Summing up his experience of the college programme over the three years, Jack said there was a pretty positive feel about the college. People who want to be teachers usually have a lot of enthusiasm and energy to put into their teaching and learning. What stands out for him was the good relationships around the college - lecturers as well as students. The best lecturers were fantastic. They realised that students were concerned about getting jobs and were particularly supportive of third-year students. Jack intends to continue his professional development by taking AST papers. In five years he hopes to be holding a senior position of responsibility in a primary school.

As a beginning teacher Jack is teaching 33 standard 3 and 4 children in a single cell classroom in a suburban contributing school. The families of the children at the school are mainly middle-class and pakeha. Jack would have preferred to teach younger children - standard 1 and 2 - but he has a permanent job at the school and is happy to have experience with the age group he has got.

Jack's main reaction to his first year was that it was very busy but also very successful. As he put it, 'I wouldn't say that I was unhappy that there are only four weeks to go to the end of the year but it has been tremendous really. There've been a few ups and downs as with any job but I found it a really positive school. I've had a wonderful class and have really enjoyed it. I can't think of anything that's going particularly badly. I'm pretty rapt with everything'.

One of the reasons Jack is pleased with his class progress is that he has what he calls, 'a pretty flash class', handpicked for a beginning teacher, which means he has been able to use peer tutoring for any children needing help. There have only been a couple of children Jack has had to prepare individual programmes for, so he has had no problems with children with specific learning difficulties. The parents have also been actively involved in the class.

Looking back he thinks he had a pretty effective training and it certainly prepared him for this age group. He could have covered the course in two years rather than three. On the other hand, he could not have done without any aspects of the training. His belief has always been that students got out of the course what they put in, and he cannot think of any ways in which he was not well prepared. He learnt a lot on teaching practice sections but he needed the theory as well, particularly about management and observation of children, as well as planning and evaluation. Jack has found that the resources he made at college have not been much use, apart from maths games, because they are not appropriate for the class and level he has at the moment although they may come in useful with future classes. Jack was pleased with the trouble lecturers went to to write his final college profile so that it reflected his achievements. He thinks lecturers have become more individualised in their reporting now that students are competing in a tighter job market.

Jack thinks the school is an effective one because it is run efficiently. The school has such a good reputation that parents chose it over others in the area. The school is particularly good at keeping parents informed about school matters.

The school is organised in syndicates and each syndicate plans programmes for the term or the year. Unit topics in science, social studies, and health are set collaboratively and all teachers try to integrate at least the reading and language programme with the unit topics. Maths, Maori language, and other subjects are also integrated where possible. Jack has been involved in a lot of other shared planning for such things as a camp and school production. Teaching is not shared, each teacher being responsible for their own class.

Jack is reasonably happy with his ability to assess children's work. His tutor teacher has helped him work out appropriate systems particularly training children to self-mark and then have the teacher check which he considers to be an effective system. Self-evaluation by the children and Jack's own self-evaluations to improve his teaching programme have been an important aspect of his teaching. Both the principal and tutor teacher have observed Jack and given him positive feedback along with helpful suggestions.

Jack has not found any of the issues of equity to be a matter for concern in the school. Teachers are aware of the issues and the children are 'fairly unbiased in their views'. He has noticed one or two sexist attitudes amongst the children but nothing major.

Jack accepts responsibility for his own teacher development in the same way that children are encouraged to take responsibility for their learning, but he has also been given ample support by the school. He has been allocated his 0.2 professional development time and his tutor teacher is often available to work with him. He has also oberserved numerous teachers, mainly in reading, language, and maths. He thinks he has developed 'heaps' as a teacher and sometimes has to 'pinch' himself when he thinks of what a huge hurdle his final sole charge section was at college and now he has had nearly a year in charge of a class and he has learnt so much, particularly control strategies, management and refining planning, and evaluation techniques. 'It's been a growing year and so will the next two be'. Jack's tutor teacher has been wonderful and they have developed a relaxed open relationship between the two classrooms - 'She's got the answers, basically'. It has also been great to have a second year-one teacher in the school to share hassles with. Jack has been to beginning teacher meetings and while it has been 'relaxing to share a few laughs with people you've trained with', they were not very effective although the beginning teachers themselves decided what they wanted to concentrate on. Jack is completing a Diploma in Recreation and Sport and intends to take some university papers next year.

Jack set himself high goals for his first year and thinks he has lived up to them. There is always more that can be done. He and the other beginning teacher 'worked like slaves' at the beginning of the year so that they would not feel they had let the side down when the Education Review Office team came to the school, but you cannot keep that pace up if you want to have a life outside the classroom. They were advised as students not to 'burn themselves out' and that certainly makes sense.

In his second year Jack hopes to consolidate what he has learnt in his first year, keep a balanced and effective reading and language programme going, but also focus on the new maths curriculum.

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